

N. KOREA

Posting of U.S. Intelligence Ship Off Korea Believed Under Study

**Some Pentagon Officials Are Reported
to Feel Task Force Could Protect
a Mission Like the Pueblo's**

By WILLIAM BEECHER

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 23—The Nixon Administration is reported to be studying the possibility of sending an electronics intelligence ship, with air and sea escort, to patrol in international waters off North Korea.

Administration sources say that while no decision has been made, some officials, particularly at the Pentagon, believe that with a fleet of warships in the Sea of Japan to protect resumed reconnaissance flights, it might also be a good time to re-establish American intelligence ships off North Korea.

There has been no such activity in the 15 months since North Korea seized the intelligence ship Pueblo. The Pueblo's sister ship, the Banner, is in port in Yokosuka, Japan, within easy steaming distance of North Korea.

Close to 40 Vessels

Officials said that Task Force 71, originally announced as comprising 23 warships, actually numbers close to 40 vessels. These include 3 attack aircraft carriers, one anti-submarine carrier, 3 cruisers, 22 destroyers, at least 5 submarines, and 4 to 6 oilers, ammunition ships, and 4 to 6

shooting down of the Navy plane.

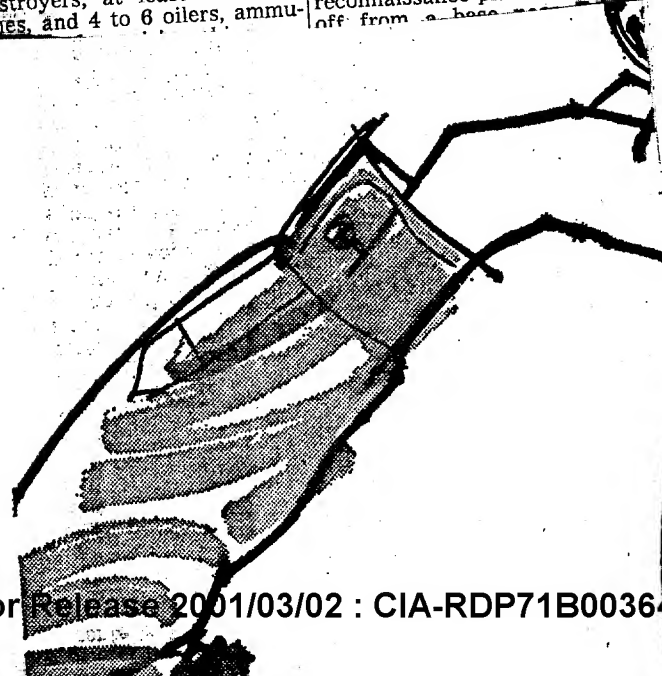
They believe, further, that the Russians have warned that the Russians have warned that they would not support North Korea with either war supplies or forces should a future attack lead to hostilities with the United States.

Chinese Aid Possible

But the same analysts wonder whether North Korea may brush aside such warnings, feeling that if war actually breaks out, the Soviet Union will have to give support to the North Koreans or face the prospect of such support coming from Communist China, bringing with it greater Chinese influence.

"They see how that kind of competition has resulted in substantial aid from both countries to North Vietnam," one official pointed out.

Pentagon spokesmen refused to say whether reconnaissance flights in international air space off the North Korean shore have been resumed. They continued to say only that "the President's orders are being carried out." Japanese reports yesterday said that an EC-121 reconnaissance plane had taken off from a base



on violence. Or perhaps they may want to commen further on closing down the rest of the Job Corps.

UNNECESSARY MISSIONS FROM UNNEEDED BASES

(Mr. PODELL asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD.)

Mr. PODELL. Mr. Speaker, since the cold war became the unending international faceoff we know it as, America has extended her military presence over the face of our globe. Our flag flies today at military outposts with outlandish names in far-off places. Because of such major commitments and presence, we have become involved in regional nationalisms, local conflicts and civil wars. The very presence of American forces has made them targets for the trigger-happy and scapegoats for the unscrupulous. Further, our military activities have brought us into brushes with potential conflicts with which we have no real concern. America cannot be the policeman of the world, just as she cannot be the financier and conscience of mankind.

Why must we maintain innumerable expensive bases in so many places? How is it necessary for American planes to fly reconnaissance missions that can better be performed by satellites? Was it absolutely essential for the EC121 to be flying its mission? Could not a satellite have performed it equally as well? Or an SR-71? When we are informed that such spy-in-the-sky satellites can make out individual telephone lines and listen in on telephone conversations, we cannot help but wonder.

Because we are so exposed through omnipresent military facilities, we become automatic targets. Provocative missions of a spying nature leave brave men unnecessarily exposed. Further, we can see that a "pirate state" such as North Korea recklessly wishes to involve great powers in major conflict. Why give them further opportunity? Are they not adequately quarantined by geography already?

Our very power and presence limits our options. Can one kill a flea in a rug with a sledgehammer? the flea is free to bite and strike again and again.

Technology has allowed us to see what we wish without close physical proximity, lessening risk of confrontation through incident. It also gives us power to strike if necessary without innumerable forward bases. Why not take advantage of what science makes available to us?

The United States possesses too many foreign military installations which serve no real purpose except to drain funds overseas. Curtailing their operations poses minimal harm or risk to our total intelligence gathering network.

By phasing many of them out, we would withdraw our presence from many areas where it only serves to inflame local feelings and provides convenient targets for those with more selfish goals.

Often we maintain such installations to please a local satrap or provide significant income to national leaders who would not recognize democracy if they bumped into it in their bedrooms.

A major review is now under way by the administration of our total international commitment and bases. It is to be fervently hoped that the American flag will be phased out of such areas, without, of course, harming basic defense postures.

Finally, it is my sincere hope that intelligence gathering will rely upon satellites and other means that will in large part obviate further need for missions of the kind that brought such grief to the U.S.S. *Pueblo* and EC121.

HOSPITAL EMERGENCY ASSIST- ANCE ACT OF 1969

(Mr. PODELL asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. PODELL. Mr. Speaker, as part of the domestic crisis facing the entire Nation, which so many choose to ignore, hospitals of our country are facing a crisis that starts with overcrowded facilities and ends with inadequate services. Many public and nonprofit private hospitals cannot meet present urgent health service needs of communities they are supposed to be serving. Recent situations which have cropped up all over the country, including my own home city of New York, are classic illustrations of our problem.

These hospitals are presently unable to participate in any form of comprehensive health services program or plan to meet future needs due to a critical lack of adequate facilities and services. As of right now, there does not exist an adequate source of public or private financing with which to provide direct emergency assistance needed to meet this critical condition. End result: A catastrophic threat to physical health and safety of all communities involved.

Extent of the dilemma confronting us is amply illustrated by some simple figures. In 1968, our general hospitals required construction of 85,007 new beds and modernization of 240,624 other beds.

Therefore, I am today introducing the Hospital Emergency Act of 1969, aimed at establishing an emergency program of direct Federal assistance in form of direct grants to hospitals in critical need of new facilities, in order to meet increasing demands for service. The bill amends section 314 of the Public Health Services Act by including a new section providing emergency grants to hospitals.

Grants, to be made by the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, could be up to 66 2/3 percent of cost of any project providing necessary facilities and services. For the purpose of these loans, \$100 million would be authorized for appropriation for this program for the fiscal year ending on June 30, 1970. No single grant could exceed 7 1/2 percent of this full amount.

Public and nonprofit private hospitals must qualify as critical hospitals to be eligible for these grants. The following criteria must be met: First, heavy overcrowding to render the hospital ineffective for community service; second, full use being made currently of existing facilities; third, needed assistance unavailable elsewhere; and fourth, failure to

provide needed facilities constitutes a threat to the health, welfare, and safety of the community.

For hospitals unable to secure the other 33 1/3 percent of the money, there is provision made for them to apply to HEW for a loan of up to 90 percent of remaining costs at 2 1/2 percent interest annually. For the fiscal year ending June 30, 1970, \$45 million is authorized for appropriation for such loans.

Mr. Speaker, in this era, thousands of Americans die or are permanently harmed because of the shameful state of our hospital facilities. Agony as they wait is the daily lot of too many others. Uncounted patients are relegated for extensive periods to hospitals terribly out of date. It is a further sad commentary on this country and the way we are arranging our priorities that several other nations are far ahead of us in the hospital field.

Passage of this measure would make emergency assistance available to hospitals desperately in need of such aid to modernize their plants, extend their services, reduce waiting lines which are scandalous and ease the burden of pain for so many.

Our choices and preferences are clear. As we act on them, so shall we be judged.

FIGHT AGAINST INFLATION

(Mr. GERALD R. FORD asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, on April 21 the President of the United States sent the Congress a message urging repeal of the 7-percent investment tax credit effective as of that date.

On that same day I endorsed President Nixon's call for repeal of the investment tax credit for several reasons but primarily because I believe such action is necessary to curb inflation and thus shield the American people from the repeated blows of price escalation.

Yesterday I was shocked to learn that the cost of living had jumped eight-tenths of 1 percent during March, a rate of price rise which runs to nearly 10 percent on an annual basis.

Mr. Speaker, as the proverb in the greatest book ever written so wisely warned: "As ye sow, so shall ye reap." We are today continuing to suffer from the inflationary policies of the past 3 years and the failure of the Johnson administration to take timely action against inflationary pressures that surfaced as early as late 1965. Now the battle against inflation is infinitely more difficult to win.

Mr. Speaker, the sharp cost-of-living jump in March strengthens my earlier judgment that the Congress should respond as quickly as possible to President Nixon's call for repeal of the investment tax credit.

Although it is possible to read too much into 1 month's cost-of-living index figures, the warning signal in the March data is unmistakable.

To me it says that the fiscal and monetary measures already taken by the administration and by the Federal Reserve Board to slow down the economy

Under the President's mangled program, equipment and instructional materials for schools, public and academic libraries would be reduced or terminated altogether.

This is a difficult-to-understand action by the administration. In recent years, our Nation's libraries, especially our own Brooklyn Public Library, have labored diligently to become more relevant to those who are culturally deprived. Their new programs have brought the library into places where its resources and dedicated personnel can strike ignorance at its roots. All the more reason why our libraries should be given more rather than less funds.

Recent programs have delivered library services to the urban poor, racial minorities, migrant workers and other disadvantaged groups. I have seen personally how innovations by our own Brooklyn Public Library have opened up an entire new world to many of the deprived.

The President proposes to eliminate the entire \$200 million original authorization for library materials under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act; to cut funding for the Library Services and Construction Act from \$166 million to \$23.2 million; and to pare funds for library training, research and services under the Higher Education Act from \$114 million to \$23 million.

To the ruination of Job Corps and cutting of water pollution programs we now can add this feather to the administration's cap. Defense spending rages unchecked. Only the poor, our environment and precious things like our libraries are suffering.

Mr. Speaker, the public library helped lift millions of immigrants out of slums of an earlier America. My own forbears had cause to bless its facilities more than once. Dedicated people of the library profession have updated their institution, keeping it relevant to a new generation of deprived Americans. Now it is to be hamstrung by an administration which preaches catchwords of morality and uplift while it snatches away tools with which people can help themselves.

We worship weapons and ignore books. There is something very wrong in a society which demands more missiles and starves libraries, which fights wars in Vietnam and ignores learning, which speaks of crushing crime while insuring that it will grow by crippling one of the major weapons in our fight against roots of those immediate causes of crime and urban unrest. Another new direction; away from enlightenment and forward to the rear in the name of ignorance. How tragic.

MILITARY EXPENDITURES MUST BE QUESTIONED AND SCRUTINIZED BY CONGRESS

(Mr. PODELL asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD.)

Mr. PODELL. Mr. Speaker, time has come for major reconsideration of the amount of defense spending as well as more significant scrutiny of defense requests submitted to and approved by Congress.

For a start, Mr. Nixon's revised budget has not cut enough military money. In light of major demands for budget cuts and negative decrees slashing away at essential domestic programs, a time has arrived for the same type of action in regard to military spending. For every civilian dollar cut, there should be a military dollar removed from the budget—a ratio prevailing in budget cuts of the past. Already we can see non-Vietnam military spending mounting at an alarming rate, menacing hopes for reductions once our Vietnam commitment is ended.

This only serves to point up the pressing need for more intensive, searching debate into our military budget and military policy by the Congress. It is our duty to do so. Our military is doing its job, while Congress abrogates its responsibilities. Some view probes of military requests and policies as actions which are less than patriotic. I consider such probes as the very essence of enlightened fulfillment of constitutional responsibility.

Congress and the Bureau of the Budget have consistently examined domestic programs as if they were plots to steal the Constitution and destroy the Revised Statutes. It is time we exercised such healthy skepticism toward military budgets.

In such a climate of scrutiny, the public would better know that such vast sums are going for and why. Popular ignorance and fear would be considerably lessened. Today we see an all too familiar sight of men in high places capitalizing upon lack of military knowledge by citizens to drive them in apprehension toward acceding to erroneous policy decisions through adroit use of demagogic catchwords. Because many people have not been informed of the true situation in regard to military needs, we are in danger of approving programs which are wasteful and prohibitively expensive. An enlightened people and a questioning Congress make for meaningful decisions.

For instance, what debate was there in Congress over spending \$6 billion annually on forces ready to fight China? Why are 15 carrier task forces necessary when the Soviet Union possesses one helicopter carrier? Why are we continuing to build F-111s? Why are we continuing to spend funds on the main battle tank? When will Lockheed deliver the C5A, and how much more will it cost? It is imperative that we ask more pointed questions in the immediate future in regard to all major military expenditures. It is the duty of this House, which is the originator of such legislation, to exercise its constitutionally-assigned prerogatives.

Expenditure of massive sums of money on military projects is out of hand completely. We now have information that the Pentagon is moving toward construction of the ABMSA, which is a new manned bomber. It is expected to cost between \$12 billion and \$20 billion. Add to this the proposed ABM and MIRV programs, and solvency is adjourned permanently.

For these reasons alone, Congress must intently examine such massive fund requests. Already proposed programs stretch on into the future indefinitely, requiring expenditure of staggering

sums. With the course of world events accelerating constantly, we must establish national checkpoints somewhere, and there are constitutional guarantees allowing us to do so here.

CORRIDOR OF SHAME

(Mr. PODELL asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD.)

Mr. PODELL. Mr. Speaker, the Metroliner is a wondrous innovation with which I am much taken. It holds one of the answers to transportation problems now choking our cities. Yet I wonder how many here have taken that trip and looked out at its route—our corridor of shame.

Such a trip takes one from Washington to Baltimore, to Wilmington and Philadelphia, through New Brunswick and Newark. By observing where the train passes we can see where America hides her disgrace. On both sides of the tracks in every one of these communities we pass through block after block of rotten, dilapidated old buildings, crammed to the rafters with people of the slums. Their washing hangs in pitiful tatters from back porches of many of these buildings.

Playgrounds are few. Abandoned warehouses are many. Glass has long since disappeared from their windows. Filth of all types lies in clusters in muddy puddles and in building corners all along the tracks. Grime covers everything, including houses along the right-of-way, people in them and the lives they try to lead.

Filth pours into the air from dozens of factories along the route, as they blithely pollute air we breathe and people who must live in their shadows.

No more depressing landscape can be imagined than that presented by this trip. When one travels on a slower train it is even more wrenching, for then one can take a close look at the warts on America's face in the corridor of shame. If ever our national urban problems were presented in microcosm, it is here. Look at it. Feel it. Breathe it. Smell it. Know it.

I commend this trip from Washington to New York on the Penn Central. May I say that my remarks are not aimed at the railroad. These problems are national difficulties, reflected in the right of way of a railroad.

I remember a wonderful, most touching poster used by that great labor union, the International Ladies Garment Workers. It showed a little girl working in a textile mill, gazing out a window. That caption read as follows:

The golf links lies so near the mill, that nearly every day
The laboring children can look out and see the men at play.

Verse used is by Sarah N. Cleghorn, who died in 1959. We could use another verse from her now.

Mr. Speaker, it is highly indicative to me that a few children who live in these slums have of late taken to throwing rocks at the Metroliner. I wonder why.

I commend this trip through the corridor of shame to my colleagues. Perhaps then they may have some new opinions

breeze. The three veterinary personnel then proceeded towards the beach and in about 100 yards came upon large groups of elephant seals (*Mirounga* sp.) in groups of 25 to 150 each. We then proceeded in among the animals to observe them for signs of oil pollution and/or indication of illness or signs of stress. While many of these elephant seals made slow continuous movements of flipping sand up over their bodies as they lay quietly in the sand, many lay quite motionless as in a deep sleep. In order to determine their alertness and general state of well-being, many were gently prodded by foot to evaluate their response to this stimulus. The typical response would be the reluctant opening of the eyes and turning back in a threatening, open mouth motion, but with little indication of desiring active aggression. When prodding was pursued to further evaluate their ability to respond, the animals would make further aggressive gestures or would move away in an up and down undulating movement across the sand. In an attempt to obtain further clinical evidence of the general condition of these animals, approximately ten were tested for body temperature, rectally, with an electric thermometer. The individuals selected for this testing either appeared in a very deep sleep (6), ill (1) or had evidence of oil pollution on their bodies (3). Only the one male (approx. 300 lbs.) that clinically appeared sick and lethargic had a variation from the normal body temperature of 95 degrees, which had a temperature of 100 degrees. This animal had many small bite wounds and an injured cornea. He was treated with antibiotics by injection and the eye was treated with an antibiotic eye ointment. The six sleeping elephant seals gave very little resistance to the temperature taking procedure, but were quite able to move out when stimulated to do so.

Of the three tested that were polluted with oil, one had approximately 65% of its body covered with oil (only a light coat), none had any variation from the normal body temperature nor did any show any signs of distress from what oil they had on them. In the course of our approximate three hour visit to the Island, most all of the oil-fouled Northwest coast area was walked to note any and all wildlife there.

Observations.—No sick or dying animals were found except the one noted and treated with bite wounds. Approximately 15 dead elephant seals were found along the beach area, none of which were fresh. Some evidence of oil was seen on them, but this number of dead does not seem above what might be expected among such a population. Only two dead California sea lions (*Zalophus* sp.) were seen, but a very large number (75-100) of aborted fetuses were noted among the rocks and along the beach. This would constitute an "abortion storm" in any other species and would indicate the need for some research into the problem. Mr. Appling verified that such abortions had been noted in prior years. A fetus was brought back to Pleasant Hill for studies. Most of the sea lions observed immediately entered the water as they were approached, would swim actively and showed no evidence of any problem, though there was still a sign of a light oil slick out off shore where many sea lions were swimming. The beaches and rocks that were observed in the affected area showed only a thin coating of crude oil and not the thick gooey coating as was previously reported earlier in the same area. A small number (4) of sea gulls were noted with very light pollution. No dead birds were observed.

Conclusion.—From the observations made, there is no evidence that any of the wildlife at San Miguel Island are showing harmful effects from the crude oil at this time. However, one can only conjecture to what real damage the crude oil has done in terms of

stress factors, total mortality and disruption of the ecology of this pinniped habitat. Because of the Foundation's interest in conservation and wildlife, we greatly appreciated this opportunity to make this first-hand observation of conditions there at San Miguel Island and to treat the one individual that needed some help. We would also be more than happy to offer our services and medical help in any future problem affecting the health of wildlife.

INTELLIGENCE-GATHERING PLANES

Mr. McGEE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD columns written by Carl T. Rowan and Max Lerner and published in the Evening Star of April 23. Both articles deal with the recent incident involving the loss of an EC-121 intelligence-gathering plane over the Sea of Japan.

With these writers, I applaud the restraint shown by our President in response to this provocation, agreeing that such intelligence work must go on because it provides necessary information.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD as follows:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, Apr. 23, 1969]

SPY PLANES HARVEST CRUCIAL ENEMY DATA (By Carl T. Rowan)

With about as much grace as possible, President Nixon has swallowed his campaign braggadocio about what he would do if "a fourth-rate military power" like North Korea confronted him with a Pueblo attack.

Nixon has made it clear that the shooting down of an unarmed U.S. reconnaissance plane was actually a more brazen affront than was the seizure of the USS Pueblo. He told a press conference Friday of two basic differences in two incidents: 1. There were doubts for some time as to whether the Pueblo had entered North Korea's territorial waters, but there was no doubt whatsoever that the plane was always at least 40 miles from North Korea. 2. The North Koreans had warned previously about operations of the Pueblo, but there had been no warnings about the flights although 190 of them had occurred previously this year.

Why, then, did the President not order a military reprisal for an attack that he characterized as "unprovoked, deliberate, and without warning"? Why did he gulp down the bold words he used in ridiculing President Johnson's "weak" response to the Pueblo seizure, covering it only with the lame hint that he might still respond militarily?

The answer is simply that Nixon felt he could not risk reopening the Korean war when his top priority chore is to extricate the United States from the Vietnam war. He sensed that he would not have solid U.S. backing for military retaliation, not only because Americans don't want another war in Asia, but also because millions of Americans have misgivings about sending out "spy ships" and "spy planes."

Since Francis Gary Powers' U2 plane was shot down over Russia in 1960, millions of Americans have harbored notions that these missions are merely dangerous cloak-and-dagger activities by fools and warmongers. Nixon listed "protection of 56,000 American boys in Korea" as his reason for ordering surveillance flights resumed around North Korea. It is too bad he or someone does not tell the American people more of the whole truth about why such "spy flights" are necessary.

The public has never been told the true

significance of the U2 flights in that extraordinary venture that was code-named Project Chalice.

Some Americans still ask why the Eisenhower administration "blundered" by authorizing the ill-fated Powers flight of May 1, 1960, only a fortnight before Eisenhower was to meet with Soviet Premier Khrushchev.

The truth is that previous U2 flights had provided some crucially important information about the Soviet military posture.

Powers had flown 26 successful U2 missions prior to his ill-starred flight, only two of which had been directly over the Soviet Union. These flights, plus "Mission 4155" which was flown on April 16, 1960, caused the American government to revise completely its "national estimates" as to the military capability of Russia.

After U.S. experts analyzed the U2 photographs they concluded that they had been grossly wrong as to the location and number of Soviet military bases, aircraft, and missiles.

The Strategic Air Command did a complete re-targeting of the Soviet Union on the basis of the more accurate information provided by the U2s.

Thus these flights contributed immeasurably to the security not only of the United States but of Western Europe, which felt directly threatened by Soviet rockets.

Why the ill-fated Powers mission? Earlier flights had revealed three Soviet military installations about which the United States felt an urgent need for more information.

So, after the U2 flight of April 16, U.S. military and intelligence experts gave top priority to a Soviet installation known as Polarny Ural, second priority to an installation known as Kysthyn-Kola, and third priority to a Soviet base in the Carpathians.

Francis Gary Powers was out to get new vital information on any or all of these installations when his plane was rocketed down, creating an international furor that was to last for years.

Spy satellites now gather much of the data that the U2s provided. But there is still a vital role to be played by ships and planes loaded with fantastically sensitive electronic data. That is why the Soviets keep electronic trawlers around the U.S. and in other key parts of the world.

Sometimes the information gathered helps to maintain peace in periods of stress. During the June war of 1967 President Nasser of Egypt and King Hussein of Jordan issued a false report that U.S. aircraft were helping the Israelis—a report probably designed to bring the Soviet Union into the fray. But because of their intelligence gadgets, the Russians knew that Nasser and Hussein were lying. So they stayed out of the war, as did the United States.

Planes like the one shot down can provide the kind of information about "enemy" missile shots and aircraft takeoffs that add up to the "intelligence" that a country must have in deciding issues like whether to build an antiballistics missile system. They provide frequency information essential to jamming enemy radars should we ever have to try to get "second strike" bombers in.

So the spy flights will continue—because the President has concluded that they are worth whatever risk, whatever crisis, may be involved.

EC121: CAUTION SERVED WITH CROW

If Richard Nixon has a feel for irony (which you'll have to answer for yourself) it must be registering pretty strongly at this moment of history. Anyone who was at the Miami Beach convention will recall how the Republican presidential nominee sent the American eagle screaming at Lyndon Johnson's craven betrayal of the flag in failing to act swiftly and strongly on the Pueblo's seizure.

The trouble with being in power, instead of on the outside, is that it takes a fireman,

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time was accelerated by the United States Supreme Court in three decisions issued in May, 1968. These are the Kent County, Va., the Gould, Ark., and the Jackson City, Tenn., opinions requiring the school boards in these communities to abandon their freedom-of-choice plans for desegregating their schools.

In these opinions, the Supreme Court declared that, in States where the schools were previously segregated by law, school boards must assume an affirmative responsibility to disestablish segregation.

In Jackson City, Tenn., for example, it was not enough to set up school zones on the neighborhood principle, at the same time allowing pupils to choose to attend schools outside those zones if space existed in them. Under this plan, formerly all-white schools received significant numbers of black students. Because, however, white students refused to attend or to elect to attend all-Negro schools, the Court was dissatisfied with the freedom-of-choice plan. The presence of all-Negro schools became clear evidence of intent to preserve segregation as it existed before 1954.

Not only must the Jackson City school authorities by the force of law require white children to attend formerly all-Negro schools, but they must also enforce faculty mixing by arbitrary assignment of personnel on racial lines.

The Supreme Court's disestablishment doctrine is the principle of *de jure* integration applied to those States in which segregation by law existed prior to the 1954 *Brown* decisions. This position—quite heavily burdened with patent discrimination against a group of States—is after all only one step removed from a decision requiring all States to disestablish segregation, whether this occurs by law or fact.

De jure integration, in summary, applies currently in those States and in those school districts where the local legislative bodies have enacted legislation establishing the new doctrine. It applies specifically to the District of Columbia, where the Wright opinion required the board of education to prepare plans to reduce homogeneity by race and social class.

Directly and unequivocally, the doctrine has been invoked by the Supreme Court of the United States in its disestablishment ruling applicable to jurisdictions formerly segregated by law. As has been said here, this step is the precursor of a ruling requiring local and State boards of education to disestablish *de facto* segregation as well.

"A THREAT TO PUBLIC EDUCATION"

The most damaging aspect of the *de jure* movement is that its proponents must discredit predominantly white schools—of which there are many throughout the country—and predominantly black schools, whether they exist in large cities like New York or small ones like Drew, Miss. Out of the attack on public education needed to establish an enforced abandonment of homogeneity by race or class has come a threat to public education that promises to bring down the walls of this primary citadel of democracy.

Hardly a school system anywhere with racial imbalance has escaped a scathing attack by those bent on achieving a millennium through the simplistic step of requiring racial balancing either by legislative or judicial action. Trace the anti-public-school sentiment in recent years to its source: You will discover—as in the case of the Washington, D.C., story—a sequence of attack, discredit, weaken; a strategy for imposing racial and social-class mixing through the winning of legislative and judicial support.

The danger in the drive for legislative and court actions to make integration the law of the land—here meaning the artificial management of persons to establish racial and social-class mixing—is the imminent destruction of confidence in public education.

As important as the hazard to public education is the fact that, in any case, *de jure* integration does not work.

The policy of the New York City board of education requiring racial balance produced overwhelmingly negative results. It left a trail of school disruptions, protests, boycotts and sit-ins. In the meantime, whites left the schools at an increasing rate.

In 1964, an official study group stated:

"No act of the board of education from 1958 through 1962 has had a measurable effect on the degree of school segregation. . . . Not a single elementary or junior high school that was changing toward segregation by virtue of residential changes and transfers of whites into parochial and private schools was prevented from becoming segregated by board action."

Four and a half years ago, the New York City board of education paired two schools—one mostly white, the other Negro. The promise made to the parents was that a race ratio of 65 per cent whites and 35 per cent blacks would be maintained in each school. Today—that is, in early 1969—the white enrollments are down to about 35 per cent in each of the two schools.

The Gould, Ark., experience is further proof of the futility of attempting to apply the doctrine of *de jure* integration. The community paired its two small schools last autumn. As a result, all but 50 of 250 white pupils withdrew. The authorities there estimate that in the coming school term the white enrollment will fall to no more than 20 pupils.

Washington, D.C., is an example of very rapid changes in race ratios over a period of a few years. From 1950 to 1967, the white school membership dropped from 46,736 to 11,784, while the black membership jumped from 47,980 to 139,364.

Enrollment figures show that formerly all-white Washington, D.C., public schools invariably moved to 75 per cent black membership two years after the 50 per cent point was reached. In each such school, the black membership quickly moved thereafter to 99 per cent.

The new and important discovery was that when a formerly all-white school approached 30 per cent black membership, the rate of change increased. Within two years, the black membership reached the 50 per cent point, from which it moved to 75 per cent within the next two years. The important finding is that the starting point for rapid white exodus is 30 per cent.

A police state with unlimited enforcement power will be needed to implement integration if it is required by law.

It is inviting to speculate about the ultimate possibility of an enforced integrated society. The next step may be to set up quotas for neighborhoods, so that the number of poor will be proportionate to their total number in the community. New homes funded by federal loans may, under a policy of social integration, be sold on schedules determined by the ratio of whites and blacks, Jews and non-Jews, Protestants, Catholics, agnostics and atheists in any community.

Out of the intervolutions from which the doctrine of *de jure* integration comes, two findings emerge with clarity:

One is that palpable preservation of *de jure* segregation anywhere—whether in schools, employment or housing—is morally wrong. The counterpart of this principle is that *de jure* integration is equally questionable.

CREATING "THE HOMOGENIZED CITIZEN"

The second main finding resulting from an analysis of the enforced mixing of people by race and class is that what is most desired is the "integrated man" made up of proportionate parts of every ethnic group and of the several religious and cultural components

of American society. The homogenized citizen thus created is a dangerous change from the historic individualism which, with its supportive pluralism, has been this nation's major source of strength.

The melding, blending process inherent in the concept of *de jure* integration may destroy the dream of a free society. A development of such significance, therefore, deserves the most careful study and evaluation.

INVESTIGATION OF WILDLIFE ON SAN MIGUEL ISLAND FOR EFFECTS OF OIL POLLUTION

Mr. CRANSTON. Mr. President, many Californians were saddened and angered recently by stories of elephant seals and sea lions dying on the beach of San Miguel Island, apparently the victims of the oil scourge which has afflicted the California coast at the Santa Barbara Channel. Because the various reports were often contradictory, the California office of the American Humane Society requested my assistance in sending a veterinary specialist to inspect San Miguel. The island is operated by the U.S. Navy and is not open to the public. With the cooperation of the Commander of the Pacific Missile Range at Point Mugu, Calif., Dr. James L. Naviaux, Director of the National Wildlife Health Foundation, headed an inspection team to the island on Wednesday, April 16.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that Dr. Naviaux's report on his findings be printed in the Record. I was delighted with his finding that the marine mammals he inspected on San Miguel showed no signs of injury from the oil pollution. Apparently the deathlike repose of the pinnipeds confused the less skilled observers who were reported in the earlier stories.

This good report should not diminish our concern with the disastrous effects of the oil slick. The Santa Barbara Channel remains a tragic chapter in the story of man's mismanagement of nature.

There being no objection, the report was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Subject.—*San Miguel Island Wildlife Evaluation*—April 16, 1969.

Purpose.—To survey and evaluate the condition of the wildlife on the Island as to the effect of the crude oil water pollution from the Santa Barbara Channel for a report to Senator Alan Cranston's Office, Washington, D.C.

Party.—Dr. James L. Naviaux, Director, National Wildlife Health Foundation, Pleasant Hill, California; Mr. Donald E. Hansen, Veterinary Student and assistant Davis, California; Mr. Mel L. Morse, President, Humane Society of the United States, Washington, D.C.

This party was joined by the following government officials at Pt. Mugu and accompanied to San Miguel Isl.

Mr. Vernon Appling, Chief Ranger, Channel Island National Monument, Oxnard, California; Dr. John Simpson, Veterinarian attached to Navy Undersea Research Pt. Mugu, California; Mr. William Russell, U.S. Navy Public Affairs Office Point Mugu, California.

Method.—The party was transported to San Miguel Island via a Navy helicopter, landing near the Northwest Coast of the Island at approximately 1100 hrs. This was the area where the heaviest concentration of oil pollution to the beach had occurred. The day was clear and sunny, with only a slight cool

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making learning relevant and applicable to modern life is reshaping our concepts of both the purpose and the procedures of education. Technological education, language labs, work-study programs, overseas seminars, computerized classrooms, and educational television are all attempts to solve this problem of making education meaningful to the students.

A most creative and successful experiment involving students and teachers in new learning situations was recently conducted at Walt Whitman Senior High School in Montgomery County, Md. The project, which was called "EFFE" short for Experiment in Free Form Education, was created, planned, and organized by students of Walt Whitman High.

The weeklong program that ran from March 24 to March 28 gave each student the option of spending the 5 days working in one of three different programs. The first phase of the program consisted of a regular study schedule but the regular classes were replaced by 140 courses that included subjects as "Comparative Religion," "Electronic Music," "Marine Biology," "Nuclear Reactor Technology," or a weeklong French seminar in Quebec, Canada. Students were able to choose courses that interested them or they could remain home if they liked.

The second possibility open to the students was an independent study program to be designed and executed by the individual students. One girl spent the time building a harpsichord, two boys rebuilt a Volkswagen, several others conducted chemistry experiments, and other worked on term papers.

The third phase of the Experiment in Free Form Education was called the work experience. The EFFE committee arranged 60 different weeklong job experiences with newspapers, research companies, schools, and community action programs. As part of this phase, four girls spent 3 weeks working in my office, from March 24 to April 11. Joan Bailey, Betsy Dotson, and Joyce Hoke are juniors at Walt Whitman, and Debby Marney is a senior. They all agree that the EFFE has been the best part of the school year. The girls hope the success of the experiment will encourage similar programs in following years and that the school's curriculum, scheduling, and teaching techniques will be influenced by the experiment.

In appreciation to the girls who worked in my office and in hopes that other schools will try similar experiments, I ask that an article published in the Washington Evening Star of March 25, 1969, be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

RELEVANCE IS THE WHITMAN "CLASSWORD"

(By Barry Kalb)

Here's a very contemporary riddle: What do sex education, world protest, the hazards of night driving, current trends in the Catholic church, the stock market, the draft, Balkan Kolo dancing, marijuana and the way a football game should be watched have in common?

A very contemporary answer: They're all relevant.

At least the students at Walt Whitman High School in Bethesda think they're all relevant to the students at Walt Whitman High School.

Among complaints that have cropped up most frequently in student protests of late are that the current course offerings—such as earth science and trigonometry—have no meaning for the student, or that they are just plain boring.

Whitman students were given the opportunity to outdo professional curriculum designers. The result of their efforts, including the above courses, began yesterday and will run through Friday under the title, "An Experiment in Free Form Education."

But this is no protest, and the students had the full blessing of the administration, faculty, PTA and county school board in their endeavors.

"We didn't sit down and say the school system is tearing us down, and hurting our minds, and we hate it, and therefore we're doing this," explains Lance Dublin, a student and prime mover behind the program.

"Obviously, the school has done something for us, or we wouldn't have this," he continued.

The whole thing began back in October with a few students and a couple of teachers talking about new ideas in education. The idea for EFFE quickly took shape, Dublin says, and in December, the school was presented with a proposal for the experiment. Students were polled as to what courses they would like to have taught, teachers were recruited to help plan and eventually teach the experimental courses, and parents—"the parents were fantastic," Dublin says—pitched in with advice and special parttime jobs.

The courses are of two major types: Those that are completely new, such as the seminar on "What It's Like to Be a College Professor," and regular courses that "aren't being taught the way they are normally."

In addition, 268 of Whitman's 2,200 students are spending the week on special work study programs, doing such things as teaching school, working for United States congressmen, learning how a newspaper is put together, and working at the Montgomery County Board of Education in Rockville.

Courses are non-graded and attendance is optional.

In the class called "Honest to God Debate," a visiting priest—Dublin says more than 250 outsiders volunteered as teachers and speakers—was asked by a boy:

"Can I ask you a question, sir? When you say 'God,' what do you—I'm not asking you to defend your faith—but when you say 'God,' what do you mean?"

In "Four Modern Underground Writers," a young teacher with a beard and muddy boots and a peace symbol around his neck instead of a tie read excerpts from Norman Mailer's "The Siege of Chicago," and told his students:

"If you remember that as a human being you have the potentialities to do harm to people or to concur in doing harm to people, you may not be so quick to condone some of the atrocities that are committed in your name."

REPEAL OF TITLE II, EMERGENCY DETENTION PROVISION, INTERNAL SECURITY ACT OF 1950

Mr. MURPHY, Mr. President, as a sponsor of S. 1872, I am pleased to support the measure, which would repeal title II, the emergency detention provision, of the Internal Security Act of 1950. Under title II of this act, the President of the United States is given the power to declare an "internal security emergency" when any of the following events occur: First, an invasion of the

United States; second, a congressional declaration of war; and, third, an insurrection within the United States in aid of a foreign enemy.

After the occurrence of one of these events the President makes the act operational by proclaiming an internal security emergency. Thereafter, the Attorney General may apprehend and detain any person where there are "reasonable grounds to believe that such person will engage in or probably will conspire to engage in acts of espionage or sabotage." While title II, enacted in 1950, obviously was not responsible for, it nevertheless reminds us of one of the sorriest chapters in all of American history. I am, of course, referring to the relocation of 110,000 American residents, 70,000 of whom were U.S. citizens by birth, during World War II. Their sole crime was their Japanese parentage. These Japanese-American residents and citizens were apprehended and moved from their homes to "relocation centers." This action was contrary to America's tradition and its constitutional procedures. Yet, Japan had made its "infamous" attack on Pearl Harbor, the United States was at war and emotions, not reason, were the order of the day. Certainly, both history and hindsight without doubt reveal that the facts did not justify the actions.

Japanese-American residents were loyal citizens. In fact, the record of the all-Nisei famous go-for-broke, 442d regimental combat team in Europe during World War II, in writing one of the outstanding and courageous chapters in our military annals and our Nation's history, stands in marked contrast to the sorry and dark chapter our Government was writing in connection with the go-for-broke combat team's family, friends and relatives in the United States. Similarly, the Japanese-Americans served with distinction in the Pacific Theater. Here, we are told, they did primarily "combat intelligence work." Reportedly, Gen. Douglas MacArthur said that the Japanese-American's service in the Pacific shortened the war by 2 years and thus prevented the loss of many additional American lives.

Despite this unjust and regrettable treatment, Japanese-American citizens today are not bitter. They still have faith and pride in the American way of life. Senator Inouye, the author of this amendment, certainly is a good example of the accomplishments of American citizens of Japanese ancestry. After a distinguished war record, he was elected to represent the State of Hawaii in the U.S. Senate. Thus, the accomplishments of Japanese-Americans in all areas of American life show they have won equal treatment and respect that our Government disgracefully denied them in World War II.

So, Mr. President, title II of the Internal Security Act clearly is not needed. It should never have been placed on the books in the first place.

I am most optimistic that we have a good chance of repealing title II this Congress. It is my understanding that the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Internal Security has unanimously rec-

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and all too often in global politics the fireman gets to the scene after the fire is over. That is what happened when the EC121 "reconnaissance" plane—call it an intelligence interceptor craft, an air version of the Pueblo—was shot down in the Japan Sea by the North Koreans. During the campaign Nixon promised there would be no fire next time, and if there were he would put it out posthaste. Well, there was, and he couldn't and didn't.

I'm not complaining about Nixon's caution. In fact, I like it in this case. I just hope the irony of it, and the cheeky brazenness of all the spread-eagle campaign drive, isn't lost on the nation. Caution in reacting to Communist provocations like this one makes sense, especially when you can't do anything fast without overacting, and also if the caution is linked to boldness in trying to end the larger Vietnamese war whose priority has made the caution necessary.

To the families of the 31 crewmen who died, it won't be any consolation to be told that while they were serving a Great Power it can exact no redress or revenge because even a Great Power is helpless in the sea of world circumstance. That is one of the facts of life that all of us must live with.

Was the North Korean act a mindless provocation, a natural response to intolerable espionage from the air, or quite simply a calculated gamble? We won't know until we have more facts about the EC121's mission and how much sense it made, and especially whether the plane was (as Washington has claimed) at least 50 miles from the Korean air space.

If it was in fact that closer to that air space, then Nixon and his military decision-makers must take the consequences that every espionage system must take—of getting caught. If in fact it was far outside Korean air space, then shooting it down was a provocative act.

Assuming it was such an act, what makes the North Koreans so rancorous, almost to the point of savagery? No nation likes to be spied upon, whether by agents or electronics, but most governments have made their peace with it, or at least an armed truce. What really bugs Pyongyang, if I may risk the play on words, is not the actual bugging but the knowledge that the Seoul regime to the South is getting stronger every year and the South Korean prosperity greater.

No insult is deeper than the spectacle of a hatred rival flourishing in the cackled joyless world in which the more fervent and fanatical Communists live, the support of the anti-Communist Seoul regime by Americans is a continuous provocation in itself, and the very fact of the immensity of American power is an obscene reversal of the world as it should be.

Seen from this angle every American "reconnaissance" plane is fair game. Shooting one down and sending its freight of human beings to the bottom of the sea is a way of shooting a barb into the tough or tender skin of the American colossus.

Shooting, moreover, with relative impunity. That is what Americans will have to live with for some time, and if they want to minimize their grief and frustration they had better demand a restructuring of the military intelligence services.

If a diplomat (as we are told) is sent abroad to lie for his country, then a "reconnaissance" plane is one sent abroad to spy for its country. A lumbering propeller-driven plane like the EC121 becomes a kamikaze plane, on a suicide mission, unless it is itself watched over by speedier fighters. Either these missions ought not to be attempted, or they ought to have their risks reduced. If this plane was in fact on a "routine" mission, then the routine had better be revised to include air cover.

While a weak nation may have the privilege of being rash (as State Secretary Rogers

has told the American people) it doesn't follow that a strong nation must give its military bureaucracy the privilege of being sloppy.

NOMINATION OF MARSHALL GREEN AS ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EAST ASIAN AND PACIFIC AFFAIRS

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, I believe the United States is particularly fortunate in having Marshall Green appointed as Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs.

I say this not just because he has been a respected friend of mine for almost 30 years, but because he has an expert knowledge, sensitivity, and judgment for the area of which he has been charged.

I have heard him give a briefing that was in my view the best briefing we have ever received in the course of my years in the Senate.

His appointment is an excellent one, and the administration is to be congratulated on it.

THE 25TH ANNIVERSARY EDITION OF MAGAZINE HUMAN EVENTS

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, the magazine Human Events, the well-known journal of political commentary, has celebrated its 25th anniversary with a special issue filled with interpretative articles on the current scene. This anniversary is a remarkable one because it indicates the durability of the principles for which Human Events stands. For 25 years, this magazine has unwaveringly dedicated itself to the ideals of constitutional government and conservative political action. It is no secret that over this period Human Events has been bucking the trend in the world of journalism and attuning itself more to the philosophy of the grass roots of the American people than to the supposedly sophisticated power centers of politics.

The anniversary issue is illustrative of the high quality of Human Events' journalism. Its editors and publishers can be proud of their record and can look forward to a brighter future.

Mr. President, the Charleston News and Courier recently published a special salute to Human Events in the form of the lead editorial on that newspaper's distinguished editorial page. The News and Courier says:

Twenty-five years of pioneering by conservatives such as the editors of Human Events is beginning to pay off in a more thoughtful public approach to politics and ideas.

Mr. President, I am pleased that one of the leading newspapers of my State has paid this tribute to Human Events. I ask unanimous consent that the editorial, entitled "Human Events At 25," published in the Charleston News and Courier of Thursday, April 10, 1969, be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

HUMAN EVENTS AT 25

Publication of a special 25th anniversary issue of Human Events, a magazine of political commentary, serves as a reminder of the

rebirth of American conservatism in the last quarter century.

The conservative outlook has deep roots in American history, having such diverse 19th century spokesmen as John C. Calhoun of South Carolina and Fisher Ames of Massachusetts. By 1944, when Human Events was founded as a Washington newsletter, conservatism seemed to be going the way of the dodo bird. Franklin D. Roosevelt had been elected to an unprecedented third term as president. Contemporary spokesmen of intelligent conservatism were few, and almost without outlets. Liberalism in all its forms, from the mild socialistic variety to varieties closely identified with Marxism, was blooming.

Today, a vastly different situation exists. The man in the White House, if not a full-fledged conservative on every issue, is strongly influenced by conservative ideas. The White House staff includes at least one well known young conservative theoretician, Dr. Richard V. Allen. Whereas conservatives hardly would have been allowed in the White House a few years ago, today they are welcome.

M. Stanton Evans, editor of The Indianapolis News, chronicles "The New Conservative Era: A Generation of Growth," in the 25th anniversary issue of Human Events.

"Political change," he notes, "is seldom unilateral and neat, and the Republican-conservative transformation since '44 has occurred as a series of ebbs and flows rather than as a single decisive thrust."

But there is abundant evidence of conservative growth and influence.

California, the most populous state in the Union, has a strongly conservative chief executive in Ronald Reagan. The Republican Party has had a major transfusion of Southern conservatism. Conservative youth groups, such as Young Americans For Freedom, are flourishing.

Perhaps the most important long-range development is emergence of conservative journalists and thinkers, authors such as William F. Buckley Jr., James J. Kilpatrick, Dr. Russell Kirk, Holmes Alexander and John Chamberlain—some of them contributors to The News and Courier as well as to Human Events.

As yet, conservatives don't predominate on college campuses. They don't play a leading role in the New York book world. But conservatives can no longer be safely ignored by liberals. The liberal presidential candidate failed last November.

In the battle for the mind of the rising generation, conservatives aren't faring badly, though peaceniks and militants grab the headlines. The middle class is continuing to move along the conservative path. Members of the big industrial unions are beginning to act more and more conservative.

Twenty-five years of pioneering by conservatives such as the editors of Human Events is beginning to pay off in a more thoughtful public approach to politics and ideas.

EXPERIMENT IN FREE FORM EDUCATION

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, perhaps the "School for Beggars" in Peter Wiell's "Three Penny Opera" was not the most highly accredited or the most prestigious school in 18th century London. But then again it may have been the most relevant and practical school in its time. The disparity between material taught in high schools and colleges and the knowledge that is needed to meet the exigencies of life in America today is clearly one of the underlying causes of the turmoil and disturbance on college campuses and in high schools. This very problem of

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, public support on a national level is, therefore, needed to sustain many of America's finest museums. This report, "America's Museums: The Belmont Report," published by the American Association of Museums, provides us with the basis for providing this support. I urge my colleagues to review it. It will jar the complacent notion that we can take our museums for granted. It will make us realize, as I have come to realize, that museums are in great need of Federal help.

RESIDENCY REQUIREMENTS FOR PUBLIC ASSISTANCE

Mr. ALLEN. Mr. President, the U.S. Supreme Court has nullified the statutes of 40 States, including one in Alabama, which prescribe minimum residence requirements as a condition of eligibility for public assistance. The Supreme Court now asks the American people to believe that the Constitution of the United States not only guarantees every citizen a living at public expense but also that it creates a constitutionally protected right in an individual to pick and choose a place in which to draw benefits based on a consideration of which community offers the highest standard of living at public expense. This is a further effort to strike down State lines as well as States rights.

The Supreme Court may know, but it did not say, where the last decision will take us. On the other hand, Secretary Finch seems to know. The Washington Post of April 22, 1969, reported:

Secretary Robert H. Finch was quick to say the ruling advanced the drive for minimum welfare standards, a goal he has long favored and which he now considers "inevitable."

Mr. President, who is prepared to support with evidence the contention that national welfare standards are preferable to State selected standards? Who is prepared to say that no minimum residency requirement, as decreed by the Supreme Court, is preferable to a 12 months residence requirement as fixed by State legislatures? Who can reasonably claim to foresee the ultimate consequence of this last judicial decision?

In this connection I am reminded of an observation of Max Lerner who wrote:

Relative to our needs, understanding of the connection between action and result is rapidly deteriorating. We are being forced to formulate long-range policy as a response to present issues with little knowledge of where such decisions ultimately will take us.

These words could have been spoken to Congress. In any event, the observation is relevant to the present issue presented by the Supreme Court.

The result is that Congress must now undertake to formulate a realistic response to the problem. That means that Congress must discover the facts and try to anticipate the consequences without benefit of or resort to judicial sophistry and untenable arguments from negatives. If the U.S. Supreme Court continues to legislate, perhaps we ought to provide it with power to conduct hearings and to get the facts.

Mr. President, it is generally agreed that the decision establishes national policy and that such policy will have a tremendous impact on many communities throughout the Nation. Some State welfare budgets simply cannot absorb the additional cost. In some States the taxpaying public will be asked to assume an even heavier tax burden to meet the new obligation or in the alternative to spread its limited resources even thinner among needy and most deserving citizens of the State. In turn, it is reasonable to expect that such States and localities will raise a hue and cry for greater Federal financial assistance and, as anticipated by Secretary Finch, we can expect to hear anguished cries for the establishment of national minimum welfare standards to alleviate the effects of the policy.

Mr. President, if regional minimum welfare standards are established by Congress, it is almost certain that countless thousands of welfare "clients" will hit the road and set up camp in States where low cost of living will add to the purchasing power of welfare payments. Relatively lower costs of living is characteristic of States which can ill afford to assume the cost of additional welfare burdens. Under such circumstances we can expect to see persons living on public largess enjoying a higher standard of living than their next door neighbors who work and pay taxes and strive to support themselves and families.

Mr. President, this is a grave injustice, which gives rise to a concern that aggrieved taxpayers may mount a massive revolt against increased taxation even for needed and necessary services of State and local governments.

Before leaving the subject of possible consequences of the Supreme Court "no residency requirement" decree, we cannot avoid comment on the clear implication in the decision that the Court may next strike down State prescribed residency requirements for voting in elections. If that eventually comes to pass, we may well witness a return of the practice of transporting indigent voters from State to State and from jurisdiction to jurisdiction as a means of swinging closely contested elections. Such was the practice of previous national "reformers" in the South.

One last comment on this point: It is from the eminent historian Alexander Fraser Tytler, who wrote during the time when we were still colonies of Great Britain. In commenting on the fall of the Athenian Republic he said:

A democracy cannot exist as a permanent form of government. It can only exist until the voters discover they can vote themselves largess out of the public treasury. From that moment on, the majority always votes for the candidate promising benefits from the public treasury with the result that democracy always collapses over a loose fiscal policy, always to be followed by a dictatorship.

The same conclusions led Plutarch to say:

The real destroyer of the liberties of the people is he who spreads among them bounties, donations and benefits.

Mr. President, the American people for years have been complacent beyond anything I thought possible in the face

of increased taxes. They have trusted institutions of Federal Government far beyond what I imagined possible in spite of repeated misgivings. But, Mr. President, the Supreme Court of the United States now seems to be deliberately thumbing its collective nose at the people. I believe that the people are about ready to say that they have had enough.

Mr. President, this last decision demonstrates once again the pressing need for judicial reforms. Such reforms must include, as a bare minimum, some sort of assurance that prospective Supreme Court Justices know the difference between legislative and judicial powers—that they accept the proposition that a Constitution is the law that governs government and that such law can not be changed except in the manner prescribed by the Constitution; and accordingly will agree not to exercise clear and unmistakable legislative powers, contrary to the law of the Constitution.

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PROTECTION OF U.S. RECONNAISSANCE FLIGHTS

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, it is encouraging that the President has taken positive action to protect U.S. reconnaissance flights off North Korea. I heartily endorse the President's action to provide this combat patrol cover in the future. For the men who were lost and their families, however, I regret the protection was too late.

Mr. President, I also announced at the time that the United States should move with combat strength into the Sea of Japan. It is reassuring to learn that the President has issued such orders. It is my firm hope that Task Force 71 is instructed to retaliate in any future attack on any of our intelligence reconnaissance of North Korea. Immediate retaliation against the actual criminals when they attack is the only way to stop this piracy. Our men must have unequivocal support wherever they serve. The loss of our 31 men is another bitter sorrow that has raised the anger and emotions of every red-blooded American.

It is my hope that the President's action will put a stop to these savage attacks in international space and in international waters. The President is to be congratulated for his calm, deliberate and measured reaction when the Nation's emotions are running high. A great nation cannot be guided by anger.

Mr. President, North Korea is one of the most belligerent Communist countries in the world. It is an outlaw government that respects neither international law nor international custom. North Korea is another country that looks to the Soviets for leadership and will cooperate with the Soviets' goal of Communist domination of the world. It has a large army and an effective air force. I am relieved that the President recognizes this threat and the cruel and irrational North Korea leaders. I hope our forces are prepared to deal with them on a moment's notice if they dare to venture another attack.

Mr. President, the day this atrocity was committed by North Korea, I made a press release which expressed my view

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quate compensation. They have brought cultural and educational advantages to people of all ages. They have performed research for the scientific advancement of the entire Nation. They have preserved our cultural heritage, made it possible for us to study the past. In the past, the financial burdens of these important tasks have been borne by private citizens or local governments. The book, "America's Museums: The Belmont Report," explains that now the cost of these efforts have outstripped the abilities of private fortunes and local governments.

If all the museums in America were to close tomorrow, the public would soon be demanding to know something of our past, to see the objects which brought mankind to the present day. In a short time, we would be opening buildings for the very purposes that museums now serve. We would soon be training and hiring people to conserve these objects of art, history, and science and exhibit them for the public to see. The ever-increasing popularity of museums is witnessed by the fact that many of them have over 1,000,000 visitors per year. This is no mere fad. The growth in new museums and the expanding use of all museums has been continuing for years, and it continues because the public recognizes and demands their cultural, educational benefits.

However, these benefits cost money. With growth in popularity, the cost of museum services become more and more expensive. And it must be noted that it costs more to maintain exhibition space for 1,000,000 visitors than for 500,000, salaries are higher, more sophisticated humidity controls are needed, and of great importance, acquisition costs are higher. And these costs have grown as the financial base of museums has remained constant.

Much of what I have just related can be found in the letter which Roger Stevens wrote upon transmittal of the Belmont Report to President Johnson.

I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Stevens' letter, with its eloquent discussion of the report and the problems faced by our museums, be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

NATIONAL FOUNDATION ON THE ARTS
AND THE HUMANITIES, FEDERAL
COUNCIL ON THE ARTS AND THE
HUMANITIES,
Washington, D.C., November 25, 1968.

The President,
The White House,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: On behalf of the Federal Council on the Arts and the Humanities, I am privileged to forward you the enclosed report, "The Condition and Needs of America's Museums".

On June 20, 1967, you asked the Federal Council to study thoroughly the status of America's museums, to assess their present condition and unmet needs, to identify their relationship to other educational and cultural institutions, and to recommend ways to support and strengthen these unique repositories of scientific, artistic, and historical wealth.

The report was the subject of continuing discussions at quarterly meetings of the Federal Council and was the subject of many meetings of the Council's museum subcommittee. It drew upon the knowledge and in-

sights of the most distinguished directors, curators and other museum professionals as well as educators, foundation officials, and public-spirited citizens. It drew, too, upon virtually all of the rather limited museum literature presently available. Given the limitation brought about by the shortage of relevant data, the Council believes the report to be the most comprehensive and significant assessment of America's museums presently available.

It is the view of this Council that the report documents the broad scope of museum services and makes it abundantly clear that the nation's museums play an authentic and major role in the nation's cultural and intellectual life. The report makes clear, too, that a pervasive and insistent financial crisis confronts these institutions.

A strong case can be made for federal support. It is in the national interest to protect our cultural heritage as other countries have effectively done for many years. Collectively the nation's museums preserve, exhibit, and interpret the irreplaceable treasures of America, and of man. Together with schools and libraries they represent the communities—and the nation's—resources for educating tomorrow's citizens. If the present financial dilemma were not a source of serious concern, these functions of museums alone would commend a sustained federal interest to a nation increasingly concerned with the quality of our national life.

Faced, as are all of America's cultural institutions, with a demand for greater service to their community and nation and experiencing a relative decrease in traditional sources of funds, it is apparent on the basis of information presently available that additional resources will be required to meet these expanding demands, or in some cases, to prevent further reduction in existing services.

But a reduction of museum services at the very time when millions of Americans are looking eagerly to them—and to other cultural institutions—to give added dimension and meaning to their lives must not come about through inaction or inadvertence. Steps can be taken now to meet specific serious needs. Further steps should be taken in the near future to insure continuing support which will provide federal resources while encouraging increased support from traditional sources.

The Federal Council urges consideration of the following steps which may be taken now without major legislative change and within the framework of existing law:

1. A number of existing federal agencies, by outstanding authorizations, could make funds available for needs of museums directly. In the Council's judgment these programs would be effectively temporarily in meeting such needs and would be in the public interest. While they are helpful, they lack the funds to make them fully effective. For example, the National Endowment for the Humanities conducts programs of museum internships and fellowships to increase the professional competence of museum professional staffs and through its research program, supports museum-based projects which will contribute to new knowledge in the humanities. The National Endowment for the Arts has conducted programs to disseminate art museum holdings to broader audiences, supported museum purchases of living American artists, and supported specific museum exhibitions. The Office of Education supports, through its Arts and Humanities Branch, museum programs which encourage and assist museums in performing better the educational function. The National Science Foundation has, as the report recognizes, been a leader in museum support, most of it in the form of awards for basic research but some for capital improvement. Yet the National Science Foundation could, with adequate funds, support a much broader spectrum of activities: research training and

technical training programs, education, operational support, equipment and facilities. The full funding of such programs could have immediate beneficial impact on the nation's art, history and science museums, and the Council strongly urges such a step.

2. Under the authority of the National Museum Act the Smithsonian Institution is authorized to cooperate with museums and their professional organizations, to carry out programs of training for career employees in museum practices, to support museum publications, undertake research on the development of museum techniques and to cooperate with government agencies concerned with museums. Yet that authorization, approved in October, 1966, has not yet received any of the appropriations authorized for fiscal years 1968 and 1969. The Council recommends appropriations for fiscal year 1970 and subsequently.

3. Some federal agencies administer educational and cultural programs for which museums do not qualify as direct grantees. Although careful thought should be given to qualifying museums as direct grantees through amending present law, the Council believes that museums could, as indirect grantees, play a larger role than is presently given them and urges appropriate administrative directives to that end. The Council urges that efforts be made to extend to museums opportunities for equal participation in federally funded activities and that state educational agencies be urged to implement requirements for full compensation and effective joint planning under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act.

4. Careful consideration should be given to changes in the treatment of museums for tax purposes which would extend to them the benefits available to other educational institutions.

Beyond these immediate steps the Council believes the national interest requires major, comprehensive and sustained programs in support of the nation's museums. These programs should be directed particularly toward helping meet construction and operating costs and should be so designed that present sources of funds, both public and private, be not only continued at present levels, but substantially increased through a matching program. Perhaps an amended Library Services and Construction Act would be an appropriate start. However, to achieve the goals mentioned in the report, significant amendment of existing law or entirely new legislation is required. The formulation of such legislative proposals is beyond the authority of the Federal Council, but the Council here notes its readiness to participate fully in any such work.

In addition the Council urges these further recommendations:

1. Because there presently exists no standards against which the all-around excellence of individual museums might be measured and since broad federal support such as that envisaged above should be restricted to those institutions which have attained a level of quality commensurate with accepted standards, the profession should be strongly urged to establish such standards throughout the museum field.

2. The report's description of museum functions and demands, its account of their present condition, and its identification of unmet needs should be of wide interest to the nation's museums, museum-goers, and those concerned with American culture. The Council recommends, therefore, that the report be widely circulated as a means of soliciting and focusing the views of all interested citizens. A broad critique of the report could initiate that extensive public dialogue which is essential to the responsible commitment of public funds.

Respectfully,

THE FEDERAL COUNCIL ON THE
ARTS AND THE HUMANITIES,
ROGER L. STEVENS, Chairman.

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S 4102

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — SENATE

April 25, 1969

Internal Security Subcommittee be printed in the RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks. I also ask unanimous consent that two columns by Paul Scott reporting on Mr. Bancroft and the New York Times campaign be printed in the RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(See exhibits 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, and 9.)

EXHIBIT 1

STATE DEPARTMENT INTERNAL CORRESPONDENCE LEADING UP TO ISSUANCE OF SECURITY WAIVERS FOR HARDING BANCROFT, ET AL.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, REFERENCE SLIP,
FEBRUARY 4, 1963

Office of the Deputy Assistant Secretary for Security

Routing: Mr. Otepka.

Subject: Loyalty Investigation of U.S. Citizens Employed by International Organizations.

Would you look into this please and may I have your views by February 8?

Attachment: Copy of MEMO FOR OIA—Mr. Hefner re subj dtd 1-27-63.

From: John F. Reilly.

JANUARY 27, 1963.

Memorandum for: OIA—Mr. Hefner.

Subject: Loyalty Investigations of U.S. Citizens Employed by International Organizations.

It seems to me the subcommittee has made a sufficiently strong case for changing the policy on loyalty investigations, to justify our pushing right ahead with a recommendation for the change.

I take it that the essential change (to provide that non-professional employees, employees in P-1 slots, and persons employed for less than two years, should be cleared on the basis of a check without full field investigation) could be accomplished through a change in the Executive Order without a change in basic legislation involved. This would also be true of the other recommendation, that professional employees be cleared, with a full field investigation after they have been hired, could also be done by Executive Order, but I doubt if we would want to do this without full consultation on the Hill, notably with Senator Stennis.

You already have the original of a memorandum from the Legal Adviser. Would you please work with L in developing a recommendation to the Secretary, which should also be cleared with Mr. Orrick and Mr. Dutton?

IO—HARLAN CLEVELAND.

CC: Mr. Wallner
Mr. Gardner
Mr. Chayes
Mr. Orrick
Mr. Dutton

FEBRUARY 8, 1963.

Mr. REILLY: As requested by you, I have looked into this matter fully and have obtained significant information which I am ready to discuss with you today at your convenience. (I will be at an ICIS meeting in Justice from approximately 1:45 p.m. to 4:00 p.m.)

OTTO F. OTEPKA.

Attachments:

1. Copy of Memorandum for OIA—Mr. Hefner re Loyalty Investigations by International Organizations, dated January 27, 1963
2. Mr. Reilly's chit to Mr. Otepka of Feb. 4, 1963

[Confidential]

SEPTEMBER 17, 1962.

IO—Mr. George M. Czayo

O/SY—John F. Reilly [initialed J.F.R. in ink].

Processing of Appointments of Members of the Advisory Committee on International Organization Staffing.

Reference your memorandum of July 6, 1962 which furnished a copy of Mr. Harlan Cleveland's memorandum dated July 3, 1962 to Under Secretary Ball describing a proposal to establish an advisory committee that would undertake a study with respect to fiscal policy and staffing of international organizations. Mr. Cleveland's memorandum expressed his concern that posts available to the United States and to other non-Communist countries in the UN agencies be properly staffed in order to effectively combat Soviet subversive designs on those agencies.

In a memorandum dated August 7, 1962 addressed to PER-EMD—Mr. Simpson (copy to SY) you requested that the proposed members of the Committee be entered on duty as employees by a security waiver and indicated that each proposed member would comply with the Department's regulations by supplying completed processing forms.

As of this date full security clearances have been issued for Arthur Larson and Francis O. Wilcox. Mr. Sol Linowitz's will also be issued shortly. As to the others, forms have been received for all except Harding Bancroft, Joseph Pols and Karney Brasfield which, it is understood, are forthcoming.

Mr. William H. Orrick, Jr., Deputy Under Secretary for Administration, has issued a memorandum expressing his reluctance to recommend to the Secretary that he sign any further waiver unless there was a genuine urgency and an ample justification for the person's services.

In view of the fact that the full Committee shall not meet again until sometime in November and that five of the individuals proposed for membership on the committee have data in their files developed by prior investigation that is not entirely favorable, I am not recommending that waivers be granted.

O/SY: DIBellsle [initialed in ink]: mc Dist.:

Orig & 1 addressee

cc subjectfile

cc chron cc OFO chron

EXHIBIT No. I-a

[Handwritten note at top of memo: "Sent to Reilly for signature, 9/13/62."]

IO—Mr. George M. Czayo

O/SY—John F. Reilly

Processing of Appointments of Members of the Advisory Committee on International Organization Staffing

Reference is made to your initial memorandum of July 6, 1962, addressed to SY—Mr. Otepka with which you furnished a copy of Mr. Harlan Cleveland's memorandum dated July 3, 1962, to Under Secretary Ball describing a proposal to establish an advisory committee that would undertake a study extending over a period of about six months with respect to fiscal policy and staffing of international organizations. I have particularly noted in Mr. Cleveland's memorandum his concern that posts available to the United States and to other non-Communist countries in the U.N. agencies be properly staffed in order to effectively combat Soviet subversive designs on those agencies.

In your initial memorandum you indicated that the members of the committee would need to be appointed to the Department as Consultants and each would require a security clearance predicated on a full field investigation. Also, you requested a security

clearance to allow the proposed members to participate in the first meeting of the committee to be held on July 25, 1962 in which classified data would be discussed. With the understanding that the participants (except those who were already State Department employees) would have controlled access to classified data through Secret as necessary for the meeting and with the further understanding that the services they contributed would not then constitute employment by the Department, SY granted an "access" clearance to these participants. Subsequently, these and other proposed members of the committee were granted the same level of clearance by SY for a second meeting in the terms of the same understanding as for the first meeting. Such clearances are permitted by Section 7, E. O. 10501 for persons not actually employed by the Federal Government who may need to be consulted occasionally in some specialized field.

In a second memorandum dated August 7, 1962 addressed by you to PER/EMD—Mr. Simpson (copy to SY) you requested that the proposed members of the committee be entered on duty as employees by a security waiver (i.e. an emergency clearance signed by the Secretary pursuant to 3 FAM 1914.2). You indicated that each proposed member would comply with the Department's regulations by supplying completed processing forms (applications for employment, security questionnaires, fingerprint charts, etc.).

In résumé, as of this date full security clearances under E. O. 10450 for employment in sensitive positions have been issued by SY to PER/EMD for Arthur Larson and Francis O. Wilcox. Their security history satisfied the requirements of E. O. 10450 without the necessity of either person furnishing any processing forms for SY use and without resorting to a waiver. As to the others, forms have been received for all except Harding Bancroft, Joseph Pols and Karney Brasfield which, it is understood, are forthcoming.

I have been informed that the full committee shall not meet again until some time in November. I share Mr. Cleveland's concern with regard to one objective to be achieved from the committee's study, namely, the defeat or minimising of Soviet subversive tactics. For these and the following reasons I would like to urge you to withdraw your request for a security waiver:

1. An emergency clearance does not allow SY to take the maximum precautions prescribed by regulations for the security of the Department's operations. When a person is permitted to occupy a sensitive position before he is adequately investigated and where he must have access to highly classified information in the course of his duties, post appointment investigations may develop derogatory information thereby creating a question as to whether the Department's security interests have been damaged by disclosing vital data to a potentially undesirable person.

2. The frequent, and perhaps excessive use in the recent past of emergency clearances for officer personnel caused Mr. Orrick to issue a memorandum clearly expressing his reluctance to recommend to the Secretary that he sign any further waiver unless there was a genuine urgency and an ample justification for the person's services.

3. Five of the individuals proposed for membership on the committee have data in their files developed by prior investigations that is not entirely favorable. These investigations are either not current or are incomplete, or both. On the basis of the provisions in E. O. 10450, some, if not all of this information must be carefully reconsidered under a broad security standard which can best be done if a supplementary and current

April 25, 1969

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — SENATE

S 4101

of this shocking incident. I ask unanimous consent that my news release of April 15, 1969 be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD following my remarks.

There being no objection, the news release was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A NEWS RELEASE FROM THE OFFICE OF U.S. SENATOR STROM THURMOND, REPUBLICAN OF SOUTH CAROLINA, APRIL 15, 1969

WASHINGTON, D.C.—North Korea's destruction of a U.S. Navy unarmed aircraft in the free skies over international waters is another act of dastardly aggression by the communists. The military power of the U.S. can no longer be made a mockery by North Korea. This malicious act in violation of international law cannot be accepted. It is time we use our power to protect our men and our national interests.

It is most disturbing to me that the United States did not provide fighter aircraft to protect this reconnaissance flight in such a sensitive area. Apparently, this Navy flight was a "flying Pueblo." I would think by this time that we would have learned a tragic lesson in dealing with North Korea which has been committing provocative acts of aggression for years against our forces and South Korea. I would like to know why this "flying Pueblo" was not protected.

I am hopeful that current search and rescue operations for the crew of 31 are successful. However, it is most distressing to learn that the U.S. is sending only one search aircraft and two destroyers for the search. The U.S. Navy and Air Force should move in appropriate strength to the Sea of Japan in search of the crew. It should be an all-out search with maximum combat forces. If North Korea attacks this rescue force, then our forces should be under orders to destroy all attackers.

THE DUBCEK OUSTER

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, 2 weeks ago I stood in the streets of Prague and watched the expressions on the faces of the Czechoslovak people, hungry for freedom. I said then that it was my hope that the Czechoslovak people would enjoy the same freedoms which we enjoy in the United States.

At that time, those of us in the delegation did not know that First Party Secretary Alexander Dubcek had already been designated to be removed from his office. That very day, Marshal of the Soviet Union, A. A. Gretchko, was in conference with Dubcek, giving him his orders from Moscow.

Dubcek was out, Gustav Husak was in. Stalinism was once more triumphant in Czechoslovakia, as it must be triumphant wherever communism exerts its rule. We did not know then nor did the world until the following week that Dubcek was being removed by Soviet orders, but it was obvious that Dubcek would remain in office only as long as the Soviets thought it necessary to exterminate all their opposition.

Mr. President, the State newspaper has ably summed up the contrast between Dubcek and Tito in their editorial "Goodbye to Dubcek." The State says:

Free inquiry must of necessity lead to rejection of Communism as a system of economics and it is this system on which the state is built. Tito, for all his corruption of Communist economics, has never been so foolish as to suggest that dangerous ideas should not be suppressed and their proponents punished.

This, in essence, sums up the meaning of communism and Soviet rule.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD the editorial entitled "Goodbye to Dubcek," published in The State for April 20, 1969.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

GOODBYE TO DUBCEK

The Czech reformer, Mr. Alexander Dubcek, has been relieved of his public duties and now will have time, if he lives, to reflect on the error of his ways. Chief among his missteps, as Dubcek must recognize better than anyone else, was the attempt to mix oil and water—that is to say, Communism and freedom.

This is a nearly impossible task under the best conditions, and it was Dubcek's miscalculation to attempt it under the worst. Even had he been able to reconcile the contradictions at home, the Russians would have prevented it. They understand what Dubcek allowed himself to forget: To cure the disease of Communist totalitarianism is to kill the doctor.

Economists—even Communist economists—long have recognized the fallacy of Marxism and its Labor Theory of Value. Pure Marxism, which dismisses the function of profit, is incapable of assigning priorities to investment and disinvestment and consequently cannot work. But the pretense is maintained. It has to be maintained, for without the excuse of Marxist economics the need for state management ceases to exist.

This is fundamental to an understanding of why the most permissive Communist governments require rigid censorship. They may fudge on the economics of Communism—slyly instituting the profit motive by some other name, as in Yugoslavia, Romania and even the Soviet Union. But they cannot allow the unfettered freedom of speech and scholarship that free nations accept as a matter of course.

Add to this the danger that nationalism represents to Moscow's military complex in Eastern Europe and it is easy to see why Dubcek failed. He was doomed from the start. As long as the Western nations keep hands off the satellites—which is likely to be a good, long while—the Russians always will snuff out such rebellions as jeopardize the purity of fictive Communism among the Soviet dependents.

Optimism was sustained in Dubcek's case only because of the failure in the West to understand or accept the necessarily repressive nature of Communism. It was thought that Czech Communism could be liberalized, the press unshackled, scholars cut loose from their straitjackets, critics set free to probe the Marxist superstition. This appears to have been Dubcek's misapprehension, too, although in the early stages of reform he was moved to warn against any attempt to challenge the Communist theology.

This very warning underscores the Dubcek error. Free inquiry must of necessity lead to rejection of Communism as a system of economics, and it is this system on which the state is built. Tito, for all his corruption of Communist economics, has never been so foolish as to suggest that dangerous ideas should not be suppressed and their proponents punished.

Tito has survived. Dubcek has not. And free men will contemplate this lesson in survival without enjoyment.

THE OTEPKA APPOINTMENT

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, in recent weeks, the New York Times has published three articles and editorial at-

tacking the judgment of President Nixon in appointing Otto Otepka to the Subversive Activities Control Board.

While everyone has a right to an opinion on this topic, the New York Times has been less than candid in acknowledging its own conflict of interest in this affair. Readers who read the recent editorial attacking Mr. Otepka's integrity would have found no clue indicating that one of the principal names in the Otepka case was printed at the top of the newspaper masthead. I am referring, of course, to Mr. Harding F. Bancroft, executive vice president of the New York Times.

Mr. Bancroft's name was one of six individuals submitted to Mr. Otepka for evaluation from a security and suitability standpoint. His name was among those who were judged to require further investigation under law and regulations before the appointment could be made. In other words, because of certain material of a security nature which Mr. Otepka found in their files, the regulations of the State Department under Executive Order No. 10450 required that a full investigation would be necessary. This is not to say that Mr. Otepka labeled Mr. Bancroft as a security risk or made any allegations whatsoever about his character. He merely said that the same regulations should apply to Mr. Bancroft as would apply to any other citizen of the United States under such circumstances.

Instead of accepting Mr. Otepka's recommendation, the State Department chose to appoint Mr. Bancroft on a waiver, thereby taking the case out of Mr. Otepka's hands. This action later became a central issue in Mr. Otepka's testimony before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee when he cited it as an example of declining respect for security regulations. When his superiors denied that this action had been taken, Mr. Otepka furnished for the subcommittee his memorandum protesting the waivers as evidence that his superiors had lied.

Today we find, then, that Mr. Bancroft is now the executive vice president of the newspaper which is leading the attack against Mr. Otepka. I repeat that Mr. Otepka never attacked Mr. Bancroft but merely said he should be subject to the same security regulations as any other U.S. citizen. Now, 8 years later, Mr. Bancroft's newspaper is leading the vendetta against Mr. Otepka. It is hard to believe that there is not some element of retaliation in this instance.

It is also interesting that Mr. Bancroft's expressed views on security were contrary to the security policies under which Mr. Otepka was operating. After Mr. Bancroft was hired on the basis of a security waiver, he participated in a report for the State Department, recommending that U.S. citizens employed by the United Nations should not be made the subject of regular security precautions. The report of this Commission also became one of the cases investigated by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee as evidence of the degenerating security system at the State Department.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that pertinent excerpts from the published testimony before the Senate

April 29, 1969

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by Chinese jurists indicate that the People's Republic of China also recognizes the extra-territorial status of warships in law and practice.

It is noteworthy that the Soviet and Chinese press, in reporting the Pueblo seizure, made no reference to customary international law or the Geneva Conventions of 1958. The North Korean version of the seizure, the "confession" of Captain Bucher, and the North Korean legal position were reported factually, without editorial gloss. The affair was accorded brief treatment and then ignored. One gained the distinct impression that the Soviet Union did not care to publicize or discuss any legal implications of the Pueblo incident, an understandable reaction considering the sizable Soviet fleet of electronics research vessels. The reasons for Chinese silence may have related to disruption attendant with the cultural revolution or may have reflected Chinese realization that if the North Korean action were sanctioned, the PRC would be expected to follow suit when an American warship infringed Chinese territorial waters.

Implicit in the United States attitude is the notion that the conduct of visual and electronic surveillance of a coastal state by a vessel on the high seas is not a marked departure from the traditional practice of maritime powers in peacetime. Undoubtedly, it has been customary for warships to hover offshore of other states, to chart coastal defenses, to observe with telescope and camera the movements of shipping, details of harbor installations, and so forth. But coastal states cannot be blamed if they view offshore electronics intelligence operations as a substantially new phenomenon in international life. A vessel such as the Pueblo not only carries away visual impressions of the external appearance of a country along the coast; it pierces the very interstices of the defense establishment by monitoring inland communications, by identifying—perhaps jamming—inland radar installations, and by performing the variety of other tasks for which electronics surveillance is suited. The result is that the flag state of the intelligence vessel obtains vastly more detailed, composite data on the defense establishment of the coastal nation than the latter can obtain on the observing state, unless the coastal state also has the resources and know-how to engage in reciprocal activity. Under such circumstances, it is hardly unexpected for small coastal countries to question the appropriateness of granting absolute immunity to electronics intelligence vessels or to seek other means for redressing their comparative technological disadvantage in advanced electronics.

By what rationale might coastal states attempt to exercise some degree of legal competence over electronics surveillance by sea as a response to such activity? One tempting approach would be to seek analogies in actions against pirate broadcasting or in the concept of "nuisance"; but intelligence vessels are stated-owned and there is no "vacuum" of jurisdiction as in the case of some pirate broadcasting cases. A second approach might draw upon the rationale of domestic precedents relating to wiretapping and eavesdropping. American courts have tended to reject the applicability of trespass in such cases, implying that the reception of sound waves by devices outside property boundaries did not violate the close. Instead, they have placed severe restrictions on the use of data obtained by such means. But in the international community, once intelligence data is obtained there is no way of restricting how it may be used; moreover, the principle of sovereignty, which is a territorial concept, is central to the exercise of state jurisdiction. Resting the legality of electronics intelligence by sea on whether a vessel is merely receiving, as distinguished from sending, energy impulses across a state

boundary would be an unacceptably artificial solution and difficult to supervise. Given these considerations, small coastal states may be reasonably expected to resort to a territorially-based response by establishing broad contiguous "security" zones in which electronics intelligence activities by foreign vessels would be prohibited.

Security zones have been employed in the past to cope with technological change and have received legal sanction. They are now a constituent part of air law; they have been invoked to close areas of the high seas for missile or nuclear tests; the Soviet Union created such a zone in 1928 to prohibit wireless radio broadcasting from ships within ten miles of Soviet coasts. Yet the International Law Commission rejected such zones in drafting its Articles on the law of the sea, fearing widespread abuses. After the Pueblo incident, Soviet intelligence vessels were seized by coastal authorities off Latin America on at least two separate occasions. It is not clear whether these were warships or where exactly they were seized, but they were state-owned vessels.

There is, of course, another response to electronics intelligence. Although not yet elevated to legal precedent, it is found in recent state practice. In two cases prior to the Pueblo, United States destroyers conducting electronics intelligence in the Gulf of Tonkin off North Vietnam and a U.S. intelligence vessel on the high seas off Israel were allegedly attacked without warning by the aggrieved coastal state. In the latter instance, grave losses of life and property were inflicted. A surprise armed attack of this character is clearly a disproportionate response to the threat posed by an electronics intelligence vessel, but it nevertheless is illustrative of the magnitude of concern felt by the coastal state.

Within this range of alternatives, is there any merit to the legal case postulated by North Korea in justification of its response to the Pueblo? From the North Korean point of view, the Pueblo was one in a series of electronics intelligence missions conducted off its coasts. On January 9, 1968, two weeks before the Pueblo was seized, North Korea broadcast a protest against the intrusion of armed vessels mingled with fishing boats, all allegedly under escort by armed warships, into its coastal waters. This was one indication that intelligence data was being gathered in the area under several guises. Moreover, although the Pueblo was under specific secret orders not to penetrate the North Korean 12-mile belt of territorial waters, missions prior to the Pueblo were apparently authorized by a general order dated February 28, 1966, to approach up to 3-miles of the North Korean coast.

The public record is not yet clear as to whether the Pueblo may have unintentionally intruded into North Korean waters. The North Korean claim that the Pueblo was seized 7.6 miles from the coast has been rebutted by evidence released by the United States. On the other hand, American reports on both the point of seizure and on the furthest penetration landward are inconsistent. Furthermore, testimony at the Court of Inquiry revealed the Pueblo's main navigational system developed errors as great as five miles. Even though other aids were frequently employed by Pueblo officers, there is no absolute assurance that at some point the vessel did not violate the North Korean boundary.

Thus, if it is assumed that the Pueblo did enter North Korean territorial waters and further assumed that North Korea regarded the Pueblo's intrusion as being in defiance of prior North Korean protests against the activity of similar vessels, seizure of the Pueblo in territorial waters would not appear to be an excessive coastal state reaction, considering that the vessel might have been attacked without warning. Under such cir-

cumstances, it is difficult to imagine effective measures short of seizure that North Korea might have taken. North Korea is not a party to the Geneva Convention on the Territorial Sea, and the requirement of Article 23 of that Convention stipulating that foreign warships failing to comply with coastal state regulations are to be escorted from territorial waters is not, so far as I am aware, a principle of customary international law.

Assuming the Pueblo did not violate North Korean territorial waters, is there nevertheless any legal case to be made for seizure of the Pueblo on the high seas as a response to or defense against electronics intelligence? North Korea characterized the Pueblo seizure as a "decisive measure of self defense." A right of self defense has always been recognized by international law, although more recently the exercise of the right as a matter of law has been restricted to instances of armed attack or, perhaps, an immediate threat of armed attack. Apprehension of the introduction of Soviet missiles into Cuba led the United States to invoke the principle of collective self defense and to establish a naval quarantine in 1962. At stake was probably not a threat of armed attack, but a fundamental reordering of the balance of power in the Western Hemisphere and elsewhere. The principles of self defense and freedom of the seas acquired a new dimension as a result of the Cuban crisis. North Korea's situation is indeed different, yet the threat to its defense establishment perceived by North Korea in the operations of the Pueblo and similar vessels may have been as imminent as the Cuban threat was to us. North Korea was confronted by vessels which penetrated the heart of its defense network and which were operated by its primary adversary in the Korean conflict. To conclude the Pueblo posed no threat of armed attack against North Korea begs the question; the threat posed by the Pueblo was the acquisition of data that could render the coastal state defense establishment vulnerable. The problem of secrecy is something with which all states must live, but they live with it to an unequal degree. North Korea possessed no comparable capability to obtain equivalent data on the United States defense system. If there is no precedent or scholarly support for invoking self defense in this kind of situation, neither is there a large body of experience with this kind of enormous technological gap which presently exists between naval powers and smaller coastal powers.

It should be noted that the Pueblo incident did not occur under normal peacetime conditions. In describing the Pueblo's intrusion as an "act of aggression, a violation of sovereignty, and a gross violation of the Korean Armistice Agreement," North Korea probably had in mind an actual penetration of Korean territory by the vessel. But these accusations might be construed to have broader meaning.

The Preamble to the Korean Armistice Agreement provides for a cessation of hostilities and all acts of armed force in Korea until a final peaceful settlement is achieved. Article 15 stipulates the Agreement shall apply to all opposing naval forces, which "naval forces shall respect the waters contiguous to . . . the land area of Korea under the military control of the other side . . ." The definition or limit of "contiguous waters" is not specified, but the failure to use the term territorial waters surely is suggestive. Under this reading of the Agreement, electronics intelligence might be interpreted to be a hostile act, as distinguished from an act of armed force, in North Korean coastal waters. A strained interpretation of the text, perhaps, in light of its negotiating history, but hardly beyond the pale of reason. However, such an interpretation would raise other, exceedingly complex, legal issues as well. For example, was the United States a belligerent

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in Korea, or do we continue to distinguish between the United Nations Command and the United States? Politically speaking, North Korea has regarded the United States as being primarily responsible for the Korean hostilities and, from the viewpoint of international law, there is an arguable case for treating the United States as a belligerent. Indeed, since North Korea itself was engaging in probes across the demilitarized zone, it may have been all the more apprehensive about the Pueblo's presence.

Underlying all my remarks up to this point are two assumptions contrary to those implicit in the position of the United States: first, that electronics intelligence does constitute a revolutionary departure over previous technology; second, that the Pueblo crisis was not just another "cold war" incident but rather was a clash between the interests of a major naval power and a small coastal state. It is especially the latter point that gives cause to reconsider the legal implications of stationing intelligence vessels near states unable to operate such missions themselves. Technological superiority allows major powers to gather intelligence while claiming immunity from coastal response by invoking principles of maritime law predating the electronics revolution. We cannot expect to indulge in such activities without retaliation from disadvantaged countries. The principle of freedom of the seas has always represented a delicate balance between coastal state and international interests. Unless electronics intelligence activities are confined to states with an equivalent capability or are otherwise circumscribed to reduce the threat to technologically "backward" countries, the major powers may do themselves and the international community a great disservice by irreparably disrupting that balance to the detriment of freedom of navigation. As pressure mounts to convene a new international conference to resolve the territorial sea issue, the impact of electronics intelligence missions on the attitudes of smaller maritime countries deserves constant and careful reappraisal.

Three further aspects of the Pueblo crisis deserve mention. The Pueblo was disguised as a (naval) oceanographic research vessel; yet many have disputed the notion of a clandestine operation by asserting that mere visual observation was sufficient to clearly identify the Pueblo as a naval vessel equipped with electronics intelligence equipment. If this be true, why further jeopardize our non-military oceanographic research program by pretending, however transparently, that the Pueblo and its sister ships are something they are not?

Moreover, we know disturbingly little about North Korean approaches to international law in general or to the law of the sea in particular. North Korea does claim a 12-mile limit of territorial waters and since 1966 has enforced a 70-mile fishing zone against Japanese vessels. Copies of legislation defining these limits appear to be unavailable in the West. It is unclear whether North Korea measures its territorial waters from the low-water mark or employs straight base lines. The Soviet Union uses the former method, and Mainland China the latter, but China, not being a party to the Geneva Convention on the Territorial Sea, drew its lines so that a much larger expanse of water is enclosed than would be allowed by the Geneva Convention rules. North Korea may follow Chinese practice, but, in order to make the seizure of the Pueblo more plausible to the international community, it may have given false coordinates to minimize differences in legal theory. This is all speculation, of course, and there may be no theoretical differences as to where the territorial sea begins on North Korean coasts. Perhaps the academic community will help develop a systematic body of materials on the approach of North Korea and similarly situated states to international law.

By insisting that the Pueblo was engaged in lawful activity on the high seas, the United States implied that electronics intelligence activity within territorial waters could justifiably be considered unlawful espionage by the coastal state. The United States objection to the North Korean document which was signed to secure the release of the Pueblo crew, and the basis for its immediate repudiation, was that "we could not apologize for actions which we did not believe took place." Therefore, signature of the document "will not and cannot alter the facts." While this formulation disposes of our "admissions," it leaves intact the fourth paragraph of the North Korean document wherein firm assurance is given "that no U.S. ships will intrude again in the future into the territorial waters of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea." A logical reading of the phrase would be the territorial waters claimed by North Korea, and it would appear that the United States may have extended its first formal recognition to a 12-mile limit.

There remains the question of return of the vessel. The United States insists the vessel be returned since its seizure was illegal; North Korea insists upon its right to confiscate the Pueblo as a spy ship. One approach toward resolving these intractable legal postures may be quietly but firmly to point out to North Korea through all available diplomatic channels that violence has been done to a socialist principle of international law—the absolute immunity of state-owned vessels—and that it would be to North Korea's long-term international legal interests to release the ship.

These reflections do not begin to exhaust the legal and policy dimensions of the Pueblo incident. There remain vexing questions of the legal status of the Pueblo crew while in captivity, the applicability of the Code of Conduct to military personnel on the vessel, the role of apology in diplomatic practice and international law, and others. Having a fuller public record will be of immense assistance in responding to all of these issues. Until we do have it, reflections must remain tentative, subject to revision.

FORESTRY IMPORTANCE GIVEN EMPHASIS

HON. DON FUQUA

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 29, 1969

Mr. FUQUA. Mr. Speaker, the people of the Second Congressional District were privileged and honored to play host at Lee, Fla., in Madison County on April 17 to the "silver anniversary" cooperative field forestry program sponsored by the Seaboard Coast Line Railroad.

This program brings together business and governmental leaders to again emphasize the importance of forestry to this Nation and to the world economy. I can think of no finer presentation than the two which I have witnessed in my district since coming to the Congress.

We have passed the day when sawmills cut over an area and left a desolate and denuded landscape. Today we recognize the value of scientific tree farming and the need to keep these lands in a productive condition.

In attempting to tell the story of this outstanding day, let me begin with the insertion of the remarks of Robert N. Hoskins, assistant vice president, Sea-

board Coast Line Railroad, who opened the program with these introductory remarks:

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS FOR THE 1969 CO-OPERATIVE FIELD FORESTRY PROGRAM, APRIL 17, MADISON COUNTY, FLA.

(By Robert N. Hoskins, assistant vice president, Containerization and Special Projects, Seaboard Coast Line Railroad Co., Richmond, Va.)

Governor Kirk, Members of the Cabinet, Distinguished Platform Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen: It has been said, "There will always be a frontier where there is an open mind and a willing hand." Looking back over the years, we have found many willing hands who have helped towards the success of these meetings.

We realized in the early years of our Co-operative Field Forestry Programs that changes must be made—and, in so doing, we discarded the idea that past routine . . . past ways of doing things . . . are probably the best ways. On the contrary, in handling our cooperative programs over the years we discovered early that there are better ways of doing almost everything.

Those of you who recall our early woods meetings will be the first to concede that they have come a long way. This year marks our "Silver Anniversary," so to speak—and, in 25 years of sponsoring such meetings as you are about to witness today, our main objective still lies in strengthening the economy of each state we serve. We recognize the importance of forestry to the economy in Florida and this will be clearly pointed out by many of those participating today.

We are well aware that more than 60 per cent of the lands in the area served by our railroad are classed as timber crop lands. We know that if we are to meet the needs of our people for today and tomorrow, then every effort must be made to keep those lands in a productive condition. This calls for total land use and sound management practices.

Never before in the 25 year history of our program have so many from such a wide diversity of interests been united in the common cause of forestry betterment. Our program affords a rare opportunity to find out what is going on in forestry today. It is truly a cooperative endeavor.

This year, for the first time, our program is being expanded to include "Containerization." With the world getting "smaller" all the time, you will surely welcome an opportunity to explore the new "intermodal concept of transportation." You have perhaps already discovered in our midst some of the distinguished Counselors of Shipping from the Embassies in Washington, D.C., as well as Port Officials and Executives from the Steamship Lines who are with us in honor of the occasion.

This actually marks the ninth year in which we have run special trains in connection with these meetings—and again, as in the past, we are highly gratified to have outstanding representation from the Florida Legislature.

We bid you all welcome—we are delighted to have such a fine turnout—and we do plan to run this meeting on time.

Now it is my privilege to introduce to you a man who is well known in Transportation circles throughout the nation. He holds directorships too numerous to mention. He is a Major General in the U.S. Army Reserves. He has served with distinction as the President of three railroads—and he is today the distinguished President of the Seaboard Coast Line Railroad Company. It is a pleasure for me to present to you at this time—your friend and mine—W. Thomas Rice.

Mr. Speaker, George Wackendorf, business editor of the Florida Times-

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stitution, Freedom, Justice, Democracy and Peace.

I take this opportunity to pay a tribute to the Legion pioneers of Orange County, particularly of Newburgh with whom I was closely associated 50 years ago: Hon. Ray Egan, Hon. Arthur Brundage, Hon. Elmer Lemon, Townsend Cassidy, William McGiffert, Maj. Sheehan, William Stanton, Albert Whitehill, William Penoyer, Jimmy Mulholland, Philip S. Levy, E. Nelson Mooney, Frederick Kingstons, Eddy and Milton Zeitfried, Morris Cohen, Terrance Newsome, Bill Joy, Joseph Monihan, Bill Keefe, John Flanagan, John Zimmerman, Edward H. Johnson, Newton J. Flemming, Hon. William Lamont, Ray McDowell, Bill Delih, Theodore Valleau, Vincent Canade, Frank Gallow, Nicholas Farina, Maj. McKay, Arthur Burnett, William J. Smith, Dr. Charles Reed, John E. McLean, Howard McElrath, Broadway Levenson, Bill Broderick, Tommy Doulin, Terrence McDermott and Alfred McLean. Middletown: Hon. Wilson Van Duzer, John Korchen, Clayton Jones, Dr. Bradner, Sgt. Bailey, Dr. Moses Stivers. Chester: Sanford Durland, Roy Howard, my former orderly. Goshen: Lester Roosa, Augustus Wallace, John B. Connelly. New Windsor: Col. Harry Monell. Highland Falls: Walter Garrison. Walden: T. S. Millspaugh and Homer Stevens. Montgomery: Dan Taft. Port Jervis: Dr. Hamilton. Monroe: Joseph Dally. Cornwall: William Burke.

Many of them have gone on to greener pastures but they were the real founders of the American Legion in Orange County including others who cooperated with them and helped to build one of the greatest organizations in America which will survive as long as Freedom prevails in the United States.

This list was compiled by me with the help of Hon. Arthur Brundage and Hon. Elmer Lemon and will be added to by Hon. Martin McKnealy who has agreed to insert it in the Congressional Record along with the remarks I made at the golden anniversary meeting.

In honoring the Legion, I also want to pay tribute to the Veterans of Foreign Wars of which I have been a member for 50 years who also have fought for the same principles of patriotism, Americanism, and for the preservation of Freedom.

If there is any country worth living in, any country worth defending, fighting for, or dying for, it is the United States of America. This, together with the Preamble is the credo of the American Legion. God bless freedom, the American Legion and the United States.

HAMILTON FISH, Sr.

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"PUEBLO"-TYPE ELECTRONIC INTELLIGENCE MISSIONS MAY ENDANGER U.S. INTEREST IN MAXIMUM FREEDOM OF THE SEAS

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 29, 1969

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, in light of recent events affecting U.S. intelligence missions off the coast of North Korea, and in view of inquiries now being conducted by committees of the House, I should like to submit for the Record some remarks recently made at the 63d annual meeting of the American Society of International Law relating to legal aspects of the *Pueblo* crisis.

On April 24, 1969, the Society sponsored a panel on "The *Pueblo* Crisis: Facts, Law, Policy." Addressing the meeting were Mr. George H. Aldrich, Acting

Deputy Legal Advisor of the Department of State, and Mr. William E. Butler, a research associate of the Harvard Law School and an associate of the Harvard University Russian Research Center. Serving as interrogators were Profs. Jerome A. Cohen and Oliver J. Lissitzyn of Harvard and Columbia Law Schools, respectively. The panel chairman was former U.S. Ambassador Arthur A. Dean.

Mr. Butler, who has published several scholarly articles and a monograph on Soviet approaches to the law of the sea, expressed misgivings about the impact that U.S. electronics intelligence missions as presently constituted may have upon our relations with smaller coastal powers and upon our long-range interest in maximum freedom of the seas. To illustrate his concern, he assumed the role of devil's advocate and suggested a variety of arguments which North Korea might have used in the *Pueblo* seizure and which similarly-situated states may invoke, in one form or another, in the future.

His observations are thoughtful and stimulating and merit serious consideration.

With unanimous consent the text of Mr. Butler's remarks and the New York Times account of the panel session are placed in the Record:

[From the New York Times, Apr. 25, 1969]
LEGAL SOCIETY TOLD "PUEBLO'S" SEIZURE MAY HAVE BEEN JUSTIFIED

(By Peter Grose)

WASHINGTON, April 24.—The American Society of International Law heard arguments today that North Korea and other small countries might be justified in taking drastic action to protect themselves from electronic reconnaissance by the great powers.

William E. Butler, a research associate of the Harvard Law School, suggested that "the established law of the seas has been outmoded by the advent of electronic intelligence." He noted that modern monitoring devices could "penetrate to the heart of a country's inland defenses," calling into question the long-standing immunity claimed by reconnaissance vessels on the high seas.

George H. Aldrich, assistant legal adviser of the State Department, argued that by established international law "the *Pueblo*, as a foreign man-of-war, was entitled to absolute immunity from seizure by the North Koreans."

CHANGE IN LAW POSSIBLE

Mr. Butler did not dispute this point, but argued that established law might be changing. "Coastal states cannot be blamed if they view offshore electronics intelligence operations as a substantially new phenomenon in international life," he said.

He argued further that the great powers, with their wealth and technological capabilities, were taking unfair advantage of smaller, poorer countries that could not afford their own reconnaissance systems. The great powers, he said, are engaging in espionage, but claiming an immunity of the high seas intended primarily to protect navigation.

Mr. Butler, who made it clear that he was arguing a case as a lawyer and not necessarily speaking from personal conviction, was challenged by former Ambassador Arthur H. Dean and Prof. Oliver J. Lissitzyn of Columbia.

Professor Lissitzyn asked if "a new norm of law" was developing from the *Pueblo* and EC-121 incidents that entitled coastal states to declare zones from which reconnaissance vessels would be excluded. Mr. Butler replied

that no state had yet done so, but that "we'll just have to wait and see."

Mr. Aldrich sought to justify electronic intelligence as a legal extension of visual observation. "A state cannot prohibit a passing vessel from looking at the shore through field glasses," he said.

IRRELEVANCE POSSIBLE

He conceded that long-standing distinctions in the law of the seas might not be relevant in the era of electronic reconnaissance. For instance, the difference between 12 miles offshore and 15 miles offshore—the first a possible intrusion, the second not—makes little or no difference to radio monitoring vessels.

Ambassador Dean, the chairman of the panel, noted that much of the law of the seas had been formulated in the era of sailing ships, when a three-mile limit or, later, a 12-mile limit was generally considered to offer adequate protection to a coastal state.

Another convention at the Mayflower Hotel in Washington, the Federal Power Bar Association, heard Clark M. Clifford, former Secretary of Defense, defend the necessity for great powers to collect intelligence.

"If a nation is getting reasonably accurate intelligence, it is less likely blindly to strike out at some country it thinks is its enemy; it is less likely to be disturbed by rumors and guesswork and so, in a moment of hysteria or deep concern, launch an all-out effort," Mr. Clifford said.

"Intelligence collection stabilizes the relationship among nations; intelligence gathering is an aid toward peace and not a hindrance toward peace."

THE "PUEBLO" CRISIS: SOME CRITICAL REFLECTIONS

(By William E. Butler, Research Associate, Harvard Law School)

If we are to have a meaningful discussion of the legal aspects of the seizure of the *Pueblo*, it must be asked whether there is any merit at all in international law for the position taken by North Korea. Let me, therefore, assume the role of devil's advocate and outline for your consideration the range of arguments North Korea or a state similarly-situated might have made in response to the legal position of the United States in the *Pueblo* crisis.

The *Pueblo* incident raises legal issues of great scope and diversity. It would be possible to list these in the time allotted to me but not to explore their complexity and their ramifications. Hence, the decision to confine this presentation primarily to legal aspects of the seizure and detention of the vessel.

The United States Government bases its contention that the *Pueblo* seizure was illegal on the time-honored rule of international law that a naval vessel on the high seas enjoys absolute immunity from all but flag-state jurisdiction. This rule is also embodied in the 1958 Geneva Convention on the High Seas, said to be generally declaratory of established principles of international law. Non-recognition of North Korean statehood by the United States and the fact America was influential in excluding North Korea from participating in the preparation and adoption of the Convention may complicate our position, but, by representing itself to be a member of the international community and by failing expressly to reject the rule of absolute immunity of warships, North Korea presumptively is bound to respect that rule.

Ironically, it is socialist states which are the vanguard of those insisting upon the total immunity of state vessels. Article 18 of the Rules for Visits by Foreign Warships to USSR Territorial Waters calls for first a warning and then a request to leave if a foreign warship violates established rules, including the rule prohibiting unauthorized entry into Soviet territorial waters. Writings

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ing films is as easily done as candling eggs and grading meat?

Will they be opulent opuscles or frizzy fritherers or anonymously euphoric conglomerate choruses of political and corporate functionaries?

Movies remain entertainment in a world of new social freedoms, technological improvements and scientific advances.

Allow me to give you my recommendations for the 3rd act:

(1) I suggest that motion pictures be taught as an art form on screen and thru books and be included in all grade school curriculums much as music is taught.

(2) We see book and stageplay reviews for children; book and stageplay reviews for teenagers and book and stageplay reviews for adults covering many pages in our nations publications. We see record and concert reviews for children, for teenagers, for classical and pop music fans in our nation's newspapers. 8 million sailors and 11 million golfers get much more space in our publications than our 40 million theatre movie goers, besides the other millions seeing movies elsewhere. In proportion, then, it seems logical that there should be more separate and specialized movie reviews for children, teenagers, and families in our daily newspapers.

(3) For the preservation and growth of the film industry, I would ask for new, major technological improvements in screen sizes and shapes. Over a 40 year period, we might have accomplished more advances than just sound and color, Cinemascope, Cinerama and 70 mm.

(4) The reformation of the motion picture industry will not lead to its regeneses and expansion without its involvement in education. There is a need for the industry to find its place within the nation's college level school systems. We need training programs and special educational instruction. I see 2 year post high school courses leading to technological degrees in motion picture management, advertising, promotion, booking, buying, sales, distribution and public relations.

(5) I would ask that theatres keep in mind that movies remain a habit formulated at the earliest age levels! That is a fact of life. There should be a scheduling of quality films for children in theatres built for children for both weekend and full-time showings.

Let us resolve not to make the movie screen a "witch box" for shoddy entertainment.

We at Boxoffice Attractions have embarked on a program concerned with family films, making them a substantive and major force in the leisure world market.

Our first venture, "The Children's Film Festival"—a movie party for every boy and girl—is now playing theatres across the nation. (It opens in 48 theatres in Michigan this weekend and, if, we had had the extra prints, we would have been able to fill the more than 100 playdates submitted to our distributor.)

It is attracting audiences, strikingly enough, composed of 1/3 adults. It is the first matinee movie show for children to have been submitted to the nation's critics, and to have received consistently rave reviews in all sections of our daily newspapers.

I am pleased to receive your "special award of appreciation" for the children's film festival and I hope that exhibitors around the nation continue to support me and others concerned with quality family films. For, it is clearly in that area that your future will stand or fall.

The film you play in your theatres today will be seen as mass entertainment on television in the future. Today's average grammar school graduate has been 3,500 hours of T.V.; the average high school graduate has seen 15,000 hours of T.V. and 5,000 hours of films. If you press for and consistently book self-serving pornography and bloody, violence drenched films, you will be unwittingly

pre-selling these films as television bonanzas for their producers. They will make good use of you as a respectable group of community minded Americans; salesmen for profitable producer T.V. sales. And, when the sexiest "X" and "double X" films are shown on T.V. within the next act, what will you do for an encore?

Will you be left with "triple X" films and have the cinema labeled "censored to the community"? or "off-limits in this neighborhood"?

You've got some things to plan for before the curtain closes on the 3d act of the 20th century; and one is whether or not families in suburban communities and satellite cities will be curious enough about buying tickets to your theatres anymore and whether you will be a priority entertainment factor.

There are alternatives to sending them to their film cartridge projectors and pay T.V. sets in their family recreation rooms during the 3d act just as you set them up for T.V. during the 2d act.

Do something about it now or prepare to fall into the orchestra pit before the 3d act ends. Your profession as showmen must remain young enough not to yield to a pattern of "don't fold, spindle or mutilate."

Showmanship is a unique, individualistic and creative profession. And movies at cinemas are the quintessence of showmanship.

COMPLETE PEACE IN ETERNAL
LINE

HON. HAROLD D. DONOHUE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 29, 1969

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, S. Burman Long, D.D., of my home city of Worcester, Mass., a most distinguished theologian, is the registrar of the Massachusetts Association of the United Church of Christ and the minister of the Hope Congregational Church of Worcester.

Dr. Long recently extended, through a letter to the editor of the Worcester, Mass., Evening Gazette newspaper, that appeared in the April 15, 1969, issue, his very timely and most thoughtprovoking remarks on the incompleteness of life on this troubled earth, which I include in the Record at this point:

THE FUTURE LIFE AS A FULFILLMENT

To the Editor:

The item, "Ike Left An Unfinished Volume," in The Gazette April 8 that states that former President Eisenhower had the object of completing a book even after he was hospitalized last May and that "he had worked with zeal and the perfection of a professional writer before the doctors ruled out any further work on the volume."

That attitude on the part of the former president and general testifies to my theory that man never completes himself on earth and that it is an intimation within the soul of the reality and need for the future life.

Here on earth we never get complete justice, complete love, a complete home or complete friendships. We want to live on in our minds which needs immortality in the Greek sense and Eternal Life in the Christian. That requires the future life to complete the life on earth is within the plan of God for every person.

The future life is spiritual of course, but our minds have spiritual connotations and the future life will be real. Easter is a reminder that Jesus is the first fruits of the

Resurrection. He expected to live on, and we have similar notions of life's completeness. That helps to make this life positive and hopeful.

THE REV. S. BURMAN LONG

87 Monadnock Road,
Worcester

The Reverend Dr. S. Burman Long was born in Carlisle, Pa., and attended high school in Chambersburg, Pa. He earned a B.A. degree from Lebanon Valley College, a B.D. from Union Theological Seminary, and M.A. and D.D. degrees from Syracuse University. He has served as moderator of the New York Congregational Christian Conference; he has been registrar and scribe of the Cheshire Association, New Hampshire; Union Association, New York; and Pilgrim and Worcester Associations in Massachusetts. In addition, he has been president of the Pilgrim Club of Boston, the Ministers' Associations of Syracuse, N.Y.; Quincy, Mass.; and Weymouth, Mass. He is a member of the American Academy of Religion and the Society of Biblical Literature.

THE 50TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE
JUDSON P. GALLOWAY POST OF
THE AMERICAN LEGION, NEW-
BURGH, N.Y.

HON. MARTIN B. McKNEALLY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 29, 1969

Mr. McKNEALLY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I am pleased to include the following tribute paid by a former distinguished Member of this House and founder of the American Legion and the chairman of the committee that wrote one of the noblest documents in American history—the preamble to the American Legion constitution. As a matter of fact and interest, former President Harry S. Truman in a conversation with me described it as comparable to Lincoln's Gettysburg address. Hon. Hamilton Fish, Sr. on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the Judson P. Galloway Post of the American Legion, Newburgh, N.Y., delivered a speech which I am honored to insert in the Record:

Speaking at the 50th anniversary meeting of the Judson P. Galloway Post of Newburgh on Saturday night, March 29th, I paid a tribute to the Legion pioneers who founded that Post, and other Legionnaires who organized posts in other communities throughout Orange County 50 years ago.

I was at that time the first district commander of the American Legion whose main function was to appoint a chairman in all of the counties of both the 9th and 3rd judicial districts whose duty it was to organize the Legion. I appointed Ray Egan of Newburgh as the Orange County Commander, and Hon. Arthur Brundage and Hon. Elmer Lemon were the main organizers of the Legion post in Newburgh.

The Legion has grown from a small acorn into a mighty oak with 1,700 posts and over 3 1/2 million members, strictly non-partisan without regard to race, color or creed, composed of veterans who have returned to civilian life. It is today one of the most powerful and influential organizations in America; for God and Country, and in support of the Con-

enticing solicitation can be excluded. The administration's bills would do so.

Congress must heed the President's clear warning and must join with him and parents throughout the country to halt the traffic in this damaging and worthless material. It is about time that we stand up for decency in America.

WARNINGS FROM NORTH KOREA

(Mr. WALDIE asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend his remarks, and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. WALDIE. Mr. Speaker, on April 18, President Nixon spoke to the Nation by medium of a press conference and discussed the latest atrocity by North Korea in shooting down an unarmed American plane over international waters.

Apparently seeking to differentiate that provocation from the *Pueblo* case of his predecessor, President Nixon stated that in the case of the *Pueblo*, warnings specifically directed at the *Pueblo*'s activities for a 2-week period prior to its seizure had been given by North Korea. The President implied that in face of these warnings, the fact that the *Pueblo* was undefended was an error of policy that was not present when the plane was shot down. In fact, the President said, there were no warnings given in this latest incident:

Under these circumstances, it was a completely surprise attack in every sense of the word, and, therefore, did not give us the opportunity for protective action that I would have taken had it been threatened.

The precise words of the President relative to the alleged warnings and threats to the *Pueblo* were:

Also with regard to the *Pueblo*, in the case of the *Pueblo* the North Koreans had warned and threatened the *Pueblo* for a period of several weeks before they seized it. In the case of these flights, they have been going on as I have indicated, for years and during this administration without incident 190 of them have occurred this year.

Mr. Speaker, I did not recall mention of such prior threats and warnings concerning the *Pueblo* prior to President Nixon's comments.

I thought that such information was vital in our judging the nature of that act and the response dictated. I thought also that the failure to reveal these "threats and warnings" constituted a serious breach of responsibility on the part of President Johnson's administration. The credibility of that administration was called directly into question by President Nixon's comments.

Accordingly, Mr. Speaker, I wrote the Secretary of State that very day, April 18, seeking to learn "when, by whom, and to whom those protests were made and in what manner they were given." I will include a copy of that letter as part of my remarks.

Yesterday, Mr. Speaker, May 6, I received a reply from William B. Macomber, Jr., of the State Department, stating:

In his comments at a news conference on April 18th, the President was referring to generalized warnings about "spy boats" and not to any specific warnings directed at the *Pueblo* or *Pueblo*-type operations.

I will also enclose the entire text of that letter, Mr. Speaker.

Clearly, Mr. Speaker, the actual facts concerning this controversy in no way match the language President Nixon used in describing it. "Generalized warnings about South Korean spy boats" hardly equates with President Nixon's contention that "the North Koreans had warned and threatened the *Pueblo* for a period of several weeks before they seized it."

Mr. Speaker, at the best, this incident illustrates the danger of a President announcing national policy in the give-and-take nature of a press conference. Imprecise language on important matters at least confuses and at most creates a dangerous misunderstanding.

At worst, this incident brings to mind charges that were too freely thrown about concerning a "credibility gap" in the prior administration. I am afraid, Mr. Speaker, ample grounds here exist for a "credibility gap" charge against the present administration.

Finally, Mr. Speaker, the failure of this administration to provide protection to this surveillance plane, given the knowledge it possessed of the *Pueblo* incident, is really quite inexcusable.

The attempt to suggest that its failure to provide that protection is somehow more excusable than was the same failure in connection with the *Pueblo* falls flat given the knowledge we now have of President Nixon's mistaken recounting of that incident.

The above-mentioned letters and an article follow:

APRIL 18, 1969.

HON. WILLIAM ROGERS,
Secretary of State, Department of State,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: In the recent press conference held by President Nixon wherein he discussed the subject of the unwarranted act of aggression by North Korea in shooting down an unarmed American plane that was not in violation of its air space, he also mentioned that the incident differed from the *Pueblo* incident in that the North Koreans had, to this Nation, protested several times for a period of several weeks about the *Pueblo*'s activities and that therefore we had been forewarned that such action could be expected, as did, in fact, occur.

I recall no such statement being made prior to President Nixon's comments and desire to learn precisely when, by whom, and to whom, these protests were made, and in what manner they were given.

Please provide me with this information at your very earliest convenience as I desire to make a statement on the Floor of the House discussing this subject.

Sincerely yours,

JEROME R. WALDIE,
Member of Congress.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, D.C., May 6, 1969.

HON. JEROME H. WALDIE,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN WALDIE: The Secretary has asked me to reply to your letters dated April 18 and April 28 concerning references by President Nixon to North Korean warnings prior to the seizure of the USS *Pueblo*.

In his comments at a news conference on April 18, the President was referring to generalized warnings about "spy boats" and not to any specific warnings directed at the *Pueblo* or *Pueblo*-type operations. Frequent warnings were made in association with

charges of alleged activities of fishing ships and naval craft of the Republic of Korea, but none of them gave any indication that the North Koreans had our electronic ships in mind.

Of course, as you know, there were no warnings of any kind with respect to our airborne electronic operations.

I hope this information will be useful to you.

Sincerely yours,
WILLIAM B. MACOMBER, Jr.,
Assistant Secretary for Congressional Relations.

[From the Los Angeles (Calif.) Times,
Apr. 26, 1969]

WHEELER IMPLIES NIXON "PUEBLO" COMMENT ERRED—JOINT CHIEFS CHAIRMAN SIDESTEPS QUERIES ABOUT REPORTED WARNINGS BEFORE SEIZURE

(By Ted Sell)

WASHINGTON.—Gen. Earle G. Wheeler, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, strongly implied Friday that President Nixon was wrong in saying the United States had warnings that the U.S. intelligence ship *Pueblo* would be seized.

But Wheeler, asked at a congressional hearing if the President erred when he told an April 18 press conference there had been such warnings, sidestepped, saying that his commander-in-chief was wrong.

"I must ask the indulgence of the committee in this matter," Wheeler said.

The exchange took place during an open portion of hearings by a special House armed services subcommittee investigating the 1968 loss of the *Pueblo* and the April 14 destruction of a Navy EC-121 reconnaissance plane. The ship was seized at sea by North Korea and the plane was shot down by North Korean fighters.

DENIES ANY WARNING

Wheeler said that in neither the *Pueblo* nor the EC-121 incidents was there any warning of North Korea's intentions.

Rep. Alton Lennon (D-N.C.) noted that at his April 18 press conference, Mr. Nixon said:

"... In the case of the *Pueblo*, the North Koreans had warned and threatened the *Pueblo* for a period of several weeks before they seized it."

Lennon asked if that was an accurate statement.

"To the best of my knowledge," Wheeler said, "it is a true quote from the President's press conference."

Lennon persisted.

It was then that Wheeler, indicating he could not contradict his superior, the President, sought the subcommittee's indulgence.

"It is an unfortunate statement," Lennon said, "and I don't think the President meant to make it."

He further characterized the Presidential utterance as an unfortunate slip of the tongue.

In other testimony before the subcommittee headed by Rep. Otis G. Pike (D-N.Y.), Wheeler and other senior military officers reported that:

1—For a "considerable length of time" after the *Pueblo* was captured, U.S. reconnaissance flights in the area were escorted by fighter planes. Spy ship operations were canceled, but reconnaissance flights continued. The fighter cover was dropped when the intelligence flights were told to stay farther from the North Korean coast. No date for this was given.

2—Since the *Pueblo* incident, U.S. fighter planes in South Korea have been maintained on alert while reconnaissance flights were operating in the area. Fighters were scrambled 14 minutes after the lost EC-121 disappeared from radar screens. They arrived too late to do anything but help in the search for survivors or wreckage. There were no survivors among the 31 crewmen.

3—In Wheeler's words, "The intelligence we gain from such missions (the Pueblo and the EC-121) is absolutely essential to the security of our forces in South Korea." The response came after Pike asked whether the information was worth the loss of 32 Americans (the EC-121 crew and one Pueblo crewman), the imprisonment for nearly a year of 82 Pueblo crewmen and the humiliation suffered by America in the two incidents.

THE ABM CRITICS

(Mrs. MINK asked and was given permission to extend her remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mrs. MINK. Mr. Speaker, as a steadfast opponent of the ABM system, I am devoting my best efforts toward preventing any further waste of funds on this new escalation of the arms race. At the same time, I realize that others hold different views on the desirability of the system, and I honor their right to express their opinion.

It is with considerable dismay, therefore, that I hear charges that those of us who oppose the ABM do not have a right to express this view—that such opposition is treasonous, or disloyal at best. Such an attempt to label ABM foes as unpatriotic should be denounced in a land where freedom of speech is a fundamental right. Our Government is based on the principle of democracy, with each citizen guaranteed the right to express his opinion in open debate.

The Honolulu Advertiser on May 1 published an editorial response to charges that ABM critics are somehow involved in a conspiracy to weaken the Nation. Because of its clear thinking on this matter, I insert the editorial at this point in the RECORD:

THE ABM CRITICS

It's doubtful if either the cause of the anti-ballistic missile or rational debate will be furthered by charges that imply ABM critics are somehow involved in a conspiracy to weaken the nation.

Yet House Republican Leader Gerald Ford seemed to be doing this when he emerged from a White House meeting this week and demanded heatedly whether ABM critics "want to unilaterally disarm America in the face of a serious threat from the Soviet Union?"

He talked about "a certain concert" of opposition to the ABM, chemical and biological warfare research, and development of a manned bomber.

Ford is right that there is a growing opposition, but it is wrong to suggest that it is motivated by any desire to cripple the nation's defense posture.

Those opposing the ABM and questioning in Congress, a large number of scientists and biological warfare include a bipartisan group many distinguished former Federal officials.

What many may oppose most, in fact, is the kind of thinking that equates disloyalty with opposition to proposed military programs.

The post-World War II growth of what's called the military-chemical complex has a basis in Cold War needs, but its growth and momentum to what some feel dangerous proportions stem in part from just such a scare atmosphere.

Fortunately, there are a growing number of Americans who feel that our many national requirements must be kept in balance and that security is not served by constantly escalated overkill.

Labor Leader Walter Reuther made the point here the other day when he said the ABM should be held up because of questions

about its workability, the fear that it will just add to the nuclear arms race more than increase security, and because funds are more needed for social problems.

We are among those who oppose the ABM on such grounds. We also recognize there can be legitimate debate on the question. But there cannot be such debate if the atmosphere is clouded with charges that critics want to hurt the nation.

EXTENSION OF CHILD NUTRITION ACT OF 1966

(Mrs. MINK asked and was given permission to extend her remarks at this point in the RECORD.)

Mrs. MINK. Mr. Speaker, I am sure that all Members of this body are in favor of more milk for our schoolchildren. Prompt action by the House Committee on Agriculture in reporting out a permanent extension of the special milk program attests to our general agreement of this goal.

The Johnson and new Nixon administration both have recommended a budget which eliminates the special milk program altogether as a separate program. Instead of providing \$104 million for milk as in the current year, or \$125 million as proposed in H.R. 5554, the budget offered by President Nixon only allows \$20 million fiscal 1970 for milk for summer camp and similar programs, and for schools without lunch programs.

These proposed cutbacks made House action on this legislation all the more necessary in order to offer stability to this program. The trend in the new administration seems to be juggling the budget around instead of providing for the additional funds needed to take care of the poor.

Another example of this administration's approach is the order to close 59 Job Corps centers and use these so-called savings to 30 miniskill centers located in urban areas.

Currently we are spending \$10 million on special assistance to needy schoolchildren; President Johnson asked that this be raised to \$90 million in fiscal 1970, but the new administration cut this in half to \$44,800,000. If the new administration really wanted to do more for the poor, I submit they should have proposed at least the \$90 million for this program which is so clearly underfunded. The special milk program has been criticized as a subsidy for the dairy industry yet the new administration asks that the current \$44 million budget for school lunches under the commodity donation program be raised to \$89 million.

The administration tells us that the new emphasis is on full lunch programs, rather than milk, and a shift in aid more toward the needy. This may be a fine goal, but Congress should insure that programs now benefiting all of our children are not curtailed in the process.

The special milk program is not the milk served with school lunches. Rather the bulk of the program is for milk for those children who have no lunch program, who bring home lunch, and for milk sold after school, for summer programs, and so forth. The Government pays part of the cost of this milk, and the student pays a reduced price. The

new administration would eliminate this assistance to millions of children. I would hope that our Nation is rich enough to continue what we have been doing for the health and nutrition of all of our children, and at the same time commit additional funds for the special needs of our poor children so that they can have free milk by providing an adequate budget for this program under the other provisions of the Child Nutrition Act.

H.R. 5554, which passed the House yesterday, would make the special milk program permanent and increase the authorization by \$5 million a year to \$125 million.

It is poor policy to amend H.R. 5554 to limit the program only to needy children and cut off a national effort to provide milk to the benefit of 17 million of our children. I am pleased that the House defeated this amendment.

I believe that we should adequately provide for the needs of the poor in America without cutting out funds already being spent.

I supported H.R. 5554 and hope that it will be enacted into law very soon.

ABM EFFECTS ON WILDLIFE

(Mrs. MINK asked and was given permission to extend her remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mrs. MINK. Mr. Speaker, the President's unwise decision to proceed with an ABM system will affect many people in many ways. The American taxpayers will be a little poorer because of the huge expense this decision will cause. The wealthy corporations of the military-industrial complex will be considerably richer. And all of us will lead more frightened lives, since the cause of world peace will be set back by this new escalation of the arms race.

All of this is well known. Not so publicized, however, is another effect of the ABM decision—the possible destruction of irreplaceable wildlife in the underground nuclear blasts which will start in October to test the ABM.

One conservation loss due to the ABM is discussed in an article by Philip D. Carter, Washington Post service, which was published in the April 13, 1969, Honolulu Star-Bulletin. As the article points out:

The remote and windswept island of Amchitka, proposed site of the largest underground nuclear blasts in history, is a critical link in the vast Aleutian Islands National Wildlife Refuge and a precarious haven for some of nature's most severely endangered species.

The article goes on to describe the struggles of the rare bald eagles, sea otters, and other wildlife to survive against the onslaught of man. For them, the detonation of test ABM's may be the last chapter.

Some of the island wildlife deserves special consideration, such as the protection to be given under the endangered species bill now pending before Congress. The objectives of this legislation, H.R. 248 and H.R. 4812, have my strong support.

For the benefit of my colleagues, I insert the article at this point in the RECORD:

that this Nation would consider taking the initiative by inviting the Soviet Union to join us without delay in a temporary freeze of this kind pending talks which would be designed to make the freeze permanent. In that fashion both nations would underscore the mutuality of interest which can exist—which, in fact, does exist—in bringing to a close this costly, wasteful, and futile competition in nuclear armaments. It would be by my further hope that the initiative, which is suggested, would be pursued by the executive branch before the consideration of the Safeguard deployment reaches a point of no return in the Senate.

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, the majority leader, the distinguished Senator from Montana, has given us a statement on the implications that deployment of an anti-ballistic-missile system at this time would have for this country. He has struck at the key issues with clarity and wisdom.

Underneath the technical complexity and difficult judgments about missile technology lies a simple truth. It is this—we are at a moment in time, the first time in the quarter of a century of the nuclear age, where it may be possible to halt the nuclear arms race with all the danger it holds for all our people and for the world. Already, we are informed, the equivalent in nuclear power of more than 15 tons of TNT hovers over the head of every man, woman, and child on the earth.

We who oppose deployment of the ABM at this time are asking for a brief delay in the arms race during which the United States can enter into negotiations with the Soviet Union to determine whether it is possible—either by formal or tacit agreement—to halt the arms race, or whether it is necessary to go on as in the past, piling up more and more deadly nuclear weapons.

The United States can defer deployment of the ABM for three principal reasons:

First. It presently has an overwhelming retaliatory capability—an ability to destroy the Soviet Union. This capability can be maintained even if the Soviet Union continues the development of nuclear weapons at its maximum capacity through the mid-1970's.

Second. A reasonable analysis of the intelligence available is that there is no new or present danger to our deterrent.

Third. The ABM system proposed by the administration, is the subject of so much responsible doubt about its feasibility for missile site protection that a delay of deployment would serve the Nation well. The most effective strategic response to a real threat to our deterrent could be developed in the time our Government is seeking a halt in the nuclear arms race, rather than in haste to build and deploy an ineffective system.

In conclusion, it is my hope that the administration will heed the wise words of the majority leader. There is no desire of those opposed to the ABM deployment to confront the administration politically. Reasonable solutions are still possible. The United States can enter into negotiations with the Soviet Union

with confidence in its existing and preponderant strength. The United States can do so with the knowledge that if negotiations fail, we have the resources and time to do what is necessary to insure the credibility of our deterrent and awesome, if uncertain, security.

It is my view that delay can be taken in safety. It is my view that a brief delay to determine if a halt in the nuclear weapons race is possible is the course of reason, the course of responsibility, and the duty of a great country.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I commend the distinguished Senator from Kentucky for the brief statement he has just made. He has said more in a few words than I said in many. He has stated the case better and more succinctly. I join with him in the postulate that this is not a political matter, that this is something in which we are all vitally interested regardless of politics, and that those of us who oppose the system do not doubt the honesty and integrity of those who are in favor of it.

It is a matter of judgment which must be faced up to and on which a decision must be made. I join the Senator from Kentucky in saying that we ought to undertake to start negotiations if it is at all possible, and that they ought to be undertaken in good faith. If results are not forthcoming and good faith is not displayed, then we ought to get busy and enlarge the deterrent.

I do not believe that a delay would cause any difficulty. I think it would yield much good. If an agreement to halt arms race can be brought about through the two superpowers, it would mean that in this country we would be able to divert funds to the needs of the cities and to the needs of various segments of our population which must be met and faced up to. In that way we shall bring about a balance in our sense of responsibilities, which in the long run will react to the welfare of this Nation as a whole.

I again commend the distinguished senior Senator from Kentucky, who has taken the leadership in this matter over several years and who has done a lot of good groundwork to bolster the case he has presented on occasion to the Senate.

I assure the Senator once again that this is not a political matter. It is not a matter of a gain or loss for either the Republican or Democratic Party. It is a matter in the best interest of the country. Regardless of its effect on either party or on any candidate, it is the issue which should have priority at all times.

Let us at least make an effort. Let us go ahead and see if we cannot do something which would benefit mankind; instead of continually building and building and acting and reacting with missiles and other systems, which can do nothing but bring destruction on mankind as a whole.

We have a great responsibility in the Senate. Let us face up to it and build for peace and not for disaster; or at least let us try to move toward the elimination of that which is designed to destroy people.

EXECUTIVE SESSION

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate go into executive session to consider a nomination on the Executive Calendar under New Report.

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. GRAVEL in the chair): The nomination on the Executive Calendar will be stated.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA COURT OF APPEALS

The bill clerk read the nomination of Frank Q. Nebeker, of Virginia, to be an associate judge of the District of Columbia Court of Appeals.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the nomination is considered and confirmed.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the President be immediately notified of the confirmation of the nomination.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

LEGISLATIVE SESSION

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I move that the Senate resume the consideration of legislative business.

The motion was agreed to, and the Senate resumed the consideration of legislative business.

EDUCATIONAL TELEVISION AND RADIO AMENDMENTS OF 1969

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the consideration of Calendar No. 156, S. 1242.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be stated by title.

The BILL CLERK. A bill (S. 1242) to amend the Communications Act of 1934 by extending the provisions thereof relating to grants for construction of educational television or radio broadcasting facilities and the provisions relating to support of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the bill, which was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed, as follows:

S. 1242

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this Act may be cited as the "Educational Television and Radio Amendments of 1969".

FIVE-YEAR EXTENSION OF CONSTRUCTION PROVISIONS

SEC. 2. (a) Section 391 of the Communications Act of 1934 (47 U.S.C. 391) is amended, by striking out "and" before "\$15,000,000" and by inserting before the period at the end thereof ", and such sums as may be necessary for each of the next five fiscal years".

(b) The last sentence of such section is amended by striking out "July 1, 1971" and inserting in lieu thereof "July 1, 1976".

S5046

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

ONE-YEAR EXTENSION OF FINANCING OF CORPORATION FOR PUBLIC BROADCASTING

SEC. 3. (a) Paragraph (1) of subsection (k) of section 396 of the Communications Act of 1934 (47 U.S.C. 396) is amended by inserting "and for the next fiscal year the sum of \$20,000,000" after "\$9,000,000".

(b) Paragraph (2) of such subsection is amended by inserting "or the next fiscal year" after "June 30, 1969".

LIMITATION ON STATEMENTS DURING TRANSACTION OF ROUTINE MORNING BUSINESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, there will now be a period for the transaction of routine morning business with a limitation of 3 minutes for each Senator.

OUR ARMED FORCES SHOULD BE BROUGHT HOME FROM KOREA

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. Mr. President, for more than 16 years since the end of the Korean conflict we have maintained thousands of GI's, marines, and airmen in South Korea. Today, there are more than 56,000 American servicemen stationed there, most of them along the demilitarized zone on the 38th parallel separating South Korea and North Korea. These men should be returned to the United States as soon as possible. I mean all of them except for a few thousand military advisers and observers.

In the years following the Korean conflict there was justification for our continuing a strong military presence in South Korea. It was obvious that the Armed Forces of the South at that time and for possibly 5 or 10 years would by themselves have been unable to repel a second attack from the North.

The fact is that today South Korea has a regular army of 550,000 men, the fifth largest standing army in the world. North Korea has a standing army of but 345,000 men. There are 17,000 men in the South Korean Navy and only 9,000 in that of North Korea. South Korea has 30,000 men trained as marines while North Korea has none. In addition, the reserve forces of South Korea number 2,550,000 men who drill at least twice a week. North Korea has a reserve force of but 1,200,000 men. The Republic of Korea—ROK—standing army and reserves are well equipped with the most modern weapons.

The only category of arms in which North Korea exceeds South Korea is in its air force of 30,000 men, 530 fighter planes, 60 light bombers, 20 helicopters, and 27 transport planes. The South Korean air force is composed of 23,000 men, 195 fighter planes, 10 reconnaissance planes, and 22 transport planes.

Furthermore, South Korea with 28,650,000 people is twice as populous as North Korea with its 11,400,000 people. Its economy is booming and the degree of its economic growth is tremendous as compared to that of North Korea, a poverty stricken nation.

Since 1951 the United States has given more than \$3 billion in military assistance to South Korea. In addition we have given \$4.6 billion in economic aid to that country. Its increasing prosperity is in large part a result of our help.

South Korea is the only nation in the world to provide substantial armed forces to assist us in Vietnam. More than 53,000 Republic of Korea soldiers are now fighting in Vietnam alongside our forces. According to our military experts, they have fought hard and well. Many have been killed and wounded in combat. The famed ROK Tiger Division has earned the respect of its allies and foes as have other units in the ROK armed forces now in combat in South Vietnam.

Of course, these troops were transported to South Vietnam on American ships and planes and are maintained there entirely at the expense of American taxpayers. Of course, South Korea, in reality a client nation of the United States, was given hundreds of millions of dollars in addition to military and economic assistance as a quid pro quo for these troops we are paying and maintaining while they are rendering valuable assistance in helping maintain the Saigon militarist regime of Thieu and Ky in power. It is undisputed that the forces of the National Liberation Front in South Vietnam, or VC, has the support of a large majority, probably 80 percent, of the inhabitants of South Vietnam.

On two occasions in recent years I had the opportunity to visit South Korea. Compared to all we know about North Korea, it is a prosperous nation. Compared to the United States, it is a poor nation. North Korea in such a comparison would be regarded as a poverty-stricken backward nation. I visited with our GI's and marines along the 38th parallel at Panmunjom and elsewhere and saw for myself the hard conditions under which they live during their tour of duty. It is very questionable whether it is necessary that we continue to maintain any Armed Forces in South Korea.

It is clear that our involvement in the civil war in Vietnam will end in a matter of time. I am hopeful that President Nixon will order the withdrawal of sizable numbers of men from South Vietnam within the next few months. In any event, it is a question of a year or 2 years at the most before we withdraw completely from that ugly civil war in which we should never have become engaged in the first place.

At that time, and it should be much before then, the 53,000 South Korean troops in South Vietnam will also be returned to their homeland. There can then no longer be any justification whatever for our continuing to station thousands of young Americans in South Korea. They should be returned home immediately upon the return of ROK forces from South Vietnam, or before.

South Korea will then undeniably have the military and naval strength to defend itself against any possible attack from the north. In the very unlikely event of that occurring, our warplanes stationed in Japan and Okinawa are only a few minutes distant from Korea and could readily come to the assistance of the South Korean Air Force, if that assistance were required.

Administration officials, particularly those in the Defense Department, should begin immediate planning for withdrawal of our forces from South Korea

and that withdrawal should be coincident with the return home of South Korean forces now in South Vietnam or at approximately the same time. This would be an important first step in reducing tensions in the Far East, in determining just what are our vital national interests in that part of the world and in the re-evaluation of our entire Asiatic policy which must and will result with our disengagement from Vietnam. That disengagement and withdrawal should have been made before now. With the armed forces of the Soviet Union and Communist China fighting each other along their common border of more than 6,500 miles there is no longer any valid fear of a huge monolithic threat of aggression in Southeast Asia from the combined forces of the two great Communist powers.

Mr. President, the United States does not have a mandate from Almighty God to police the entire world. We saved South Korea from Communist aggression and in the years since we have enabled that little country to defend itself against any possible future attack. It is time for South Korea to stand on its own two feet.

ORDER OF BUSINESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there further morning business?

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll. Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be recinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

CONSTITUTIONAL RESTRAINTS ON ACTION REGARDING SUPREME COURT JUSTICES

Mr. ERVIN. Mr. President, for the last 2 weeks, the Supreme Court has once again been the center of public discussion, as it has been so often in our history. There is general agreement that the situation which now exists amounts to a crisis for the Supreme Court of a seriousness rarely matched in our history. In such circumstances, the obligations placed upon each Member of Congress, on the President, and the Court itself require thoughtful consideration and a strict adherence to the Constitution.

Much is at stake. More is involved even than the reputation and integrity of the High Court. The very independence of the Court may be threatened. We must all rise above passing temptations and insure that however this matter is resolved, the damage to the Supreme Court will be minimized.

The Constitution provides that all Federal judges shall retain office during "good behavior," which means that judges have tenure for life. Excepting only resignation or retirement, there is only one method by which a Federal judge can be relieved of office—that is by impeachment according to article II, section 4.

June 10, 1969

is believed to have a majority of nineteen—fourteen Republicans and five Democrats—of the 35 members. And if it can be pushed through the Education and Labor Committee, it will almost surely reach the House floor, where the spirit of vengeance is matched, these days, only by the mood of panic.

It is incredible, even so, that such legislation could even be contemplated; one has to go back to the South of a decade ago, when communities closed their schools to save them from integration, to find such suicidal folly. This bill would make mandatory the complete cutoff of Federal assistance of any kind to any university or college that did not set up a rigid code of conduct, including a table of penalties, for its students and faculty (as if the latter were mere employees); however viewed, that is intolerable intrusion by the Government into the control and administration of private institutions.

Since colleges themselves administer such programs as National Defense Education loans and the college work-study program, they would lose Federal funds for them. Many students who have never participated in any kind of disorder, but who either receive these funds or ought to, would thus be penalized.

CUTTING OFF AID

The Green bill also would force colleges to cut off any form of Federal assistance to any student, faculty member, research fellow or employee who had "contributed to a sub-institution" (whatever that may mean).

This does not refer merely to student loans and grants; the bill says specifically that the assistance to be terminated also includes veterans' benefits under the G.I. Bill of Rights; payments of a surviving child's insurance benefits under Social Security; and salaries of faculty members engaged in training Peace Corps volunteers. All these, plus loans and grants, to be denied for a period of five years, and almost as an afterthought, the bill adds that if a student so penalized at one institution then transfers to another, the second has to honor the cutoff of assistance ordered by the first, no matter what the student's subsequent conduct.

DANGERS OF MEASURE

The thought-control aspects of the bill are made even more clear by the fact any student applying for or entitled to any form of Federal payment would have to sign an affidavit that he had never "contributed to a substantial disruption"; in short, behaving as Congress commands is an absolute prerequisite for receiving even inherited Social Security benefits or combat-earned GI benefits.

Representatives Ogden Reid of New York and John Brademas of Indiana, who are leading the opposition in this repugnant measure, circulated today a number of statements by college presidents denying the need for it and pointing to its inequities and dangers.

The college heads emphasized that such punitive legislation would have as a primary effect the further embitterment and alienation of a student generation already in revolt against the standards and attitudes of its elders. That also was a main point of today's statement by the Commission on Violence.

Its chairman, Dr. Milton Eisenhower, himself a former college president, pointed out on the commission's behalf that if "aid is withdrawn from even a few students in a manner that the campus views as unjust, the result may be to radicalize a much larger number by convincing them that existing governmental institutions are as inhumane as the revolutionaries claim."

The Violence Commission, scarcely a radical body, viewed the roots of student unrest as lying "deep in the larger society" and one effective remedy, it suggested, "is to focus on

the unfinished task of striving toward the goals of human life that all of us share and that young people admire and respect."

Now there would be something really useful for Congress to do. Fat chance.

SAVING THE POTOMAC RIVER

HON. GILBERT GUDE

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 10, 1969

Mr. GUDE. Mr. Speaker, I have been especially pleased with the outcome of efforts to save the Hunting Creek area on the Potomac from the encroachment of developers. That the destruction of this marshland was averted is due largely to the commendable efforts of Congressman Reuss, chairman of the Conservation and Natural Resources Subcommittee of the House Government Operations Committee, and of Secretary of the Interior Walter J. Hickel. We who enjoy the natural beauty of the Potomac and who are concerned that it remain unaltered according to its established boundaries are grateful to these men for their timely and persistent efforts to protect this river.

The maintenance of river shorelines, however, is no more important than the safeguarding of the river waters. It would be incongruous from the standpoint of conservation to work for one and ignore the other. The pollution problem in the Potomac has become one of crisis proportions and notorious repute. That it should prevail in a waterway to which all Americans make patriotic claim intensifies the evil. Hence, those of us who laud the efforts of Mr. Reuss and Secretary Hickel for their achievements in Hunting Creek are hoping that continued combinations of expertise and resolve will yield some progress in eliminating the pollution of the Potomac.

With these thoughts in mind, I am entering into the Record today a copy of Secretary Hickel's letter to Secretary of the Army Resor, under whose authority the permit to fill Hunting Creek would have been issued, and a subsequent letter from Chairman Reuss to Secretary Hickel. Also, I am including a copy of the April 16, 1969, Washington Post editorial which reports the initial success of the efforts to block the Hunting Creek destruction, and finally a clipping from today's Washington Post announcing the order suspending the Hunting Creek landfill. I think this chronology of letters and reports well represents some of the most recent and best efforts aimed at protecting the Nation's rivers.

The material follows:

APRIL 3, 1969.

Hon. STANLEY R. RESOR,
Secretary of the Army,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR Mr. SECRETARY: I have had an opportunity to review the facts pertinent to the issuance on May 29, 1968, of a Department of the Army permit to construct a bulkhead and to fill 9.39 acres of the Potomac River at the mouth of Hunting Creek, Virginia, by Howard P. Hoffman Associates, Inc. As you know, on April 26, 1968, former Under Secretary of the Interior Black withdrew De-

partmental objections to granting of the permit.

The Department now considers the proposal as a needless act of destruction of the environment of the Nation's Capital, and urges reconsideration of the permit previously issued for the proposal by the Department of the Army.

The filling and the subsequent construction of an apartment building at the confluence of Hunting Creek with Potomac River is not in keeping with the widely publicized goal of this Department to preserve and protect the values of the Potomac River. The skyline along the Potomac has been unnecessarily desecrated already. The further deterioration of "Washington's River" should be stopped and efforts renewed to improve the river and restore its former attractiveness. The Department intends to firmly contest any needless filling of the Potomac or affront to its landscape. The view of the river from our Nation's Capital parklands and the integrity of the parklands themselves must be protected and preserved.

The plan as now approved involves a much smaller area than originally considered in 1964 when the proposal to fill consisted of a wedge-shaped tract of about 36 acres jutting out into the river for some 2,000 feet. But we have no reason to believe that the original plan will not be proposed piecemeal from time to time in the future. In fact, the Hoffman proposal opens the door to future enlargements, since it will create a small bay that will be on obvious candidate for further filling. The justification would be essentially the same, that natural values have already been downgraded by existing developments. The door should not be opened further, even to such an apparently small degree. The unnecessary nibbling of areas of high public value must be stopped if we are to maintain all the qualities of our environment.

The Virginia Legislature has given its sanction to the initial proposal. Yet the State has not acted to complete this sanction by formal issuance of a patent.

In spite of many assertions made that the habitat in the Hunting Creek area has continued to be degraded, we find that since the proposal was made in 1964, the area in question has not lost any of its value. It still provides a feeding and resting ground for migratory waterfowl. It still provides a vista across the Potomac from the George Washington Parkway. It still forms a natural margin for Jones Point, a Federal property administered by the National Park Service with a major potential for addition to the developed parks of the Capital area. Serious and irrevocable changes would occur in that open water area between the fill site and Jones Point should the project go forward.

The potential of the lands along the Potomac in Federal ownership should be maintained undiminished in value for use by all the people. Any fill project at the mouth of Hunting Creek would not be in keeping with this aspiration.

The time has come for the government to take a firm stand to protect the fast vanishing natural shorelines of our nation.

Sincerely yours,

WALTER J. HICKEL,
Secretary of the Interior.

APRIL 10, 1969.

Hon. WALTER J. HICKEL,
Secretary of the Interior, Department of the
Interior, Washington, D.C.

DEAR Mr. SECRETARY: Every Member of this Subcommittee agrees with the position you have taken in your letter of April 3 to Secretary of the Army Stanley R. Resor that "the time has come for the Government to take a firm stand to protect the fast vanishing shorelines of our Nation."

We therefore congratulate you on your letter to Secretary Resor in which you urge

TABLE II.—NATIONAL URBAN BONDS (NUB) 5 PERCENT BOND—Continued

\$500 security: 20-year bond, 20-year amortization:				
5 percent income, nontaxable.....				\$25
Amortization allowance of face value taken for a tax deduction.....				25
Total.....				50
Effective savings on taxes at—	17 percent	22 percent	25 percent	28 percent
Tax savings:				
1 year.....	\$8.50	\$11	\$12.50	\$14
20 years.....	170.00	220	250.00	280
Income at \$25 times 20 years.....	500.00	500	500.00	500
Tax savings over 20 years.....	170.00	220	250.00	280
Total increment.....	670.00	720	750.00	780
Total return over 20 years (percent).....	134	145	150	156
Annual return (percent).....	6.7	7.3	7.5	7.8

BACKGROUND—ALVIN E. GERSHEN

Mr. Alvin E. Gershen is the senior member of the firm Alvin E. Gershen Associates, Trenton, New Jersey. He is forty-two years old, married, and has six children. He has a Bachelor Degree in Civil Engineering from the City College of New York and a M.P.A. degree from the New York University Graduate School of Public Administration. He did additional graduate work in city planning at Columbia University. Mr. Gershen organized his firm eight years ago with the expressed purpose of providing total community development services. The firm specializes in planning, engineering, urban renewal, and housing. The firm has achieved particular success in creative planning and development and has been responsible for many successful planning, urban renewal and housing programs for the development of over 5,000 dwelling units of housing in New Jersey.

During the past several years, Mr. Gershen has applied his particular experience and knowledge in housing and development problems by preparing legislative programs in New Jersey and West Virginia. Foremost among these programs, were his services as a consultant to the Governor's Task Force on Housing in West Virginia and his services as Chairman of the Governor's Task Force on Housing and Urban Renewal in New Jersey. This latter work culminated in the passage of the most significant urban legislation in decades by the New Jersey Legislature. Most notable was the creation of the new Department of Community Affairs and the establishment of the State Housing Finance Agency.

Mr. Gershen was appointed in 1960 to represent the State of New Jersey on the Meadowlands Regional Development Agency. His joint publication of the paper "Develop the Meadows" was the foundation for Meadowlands activities that culminated recently in the enactment of the Meadowlands Development Commission legislation by the State of New Jersey.

Mr. Gershen was formerly associated with the New York City Planning Commission and also was Chief of Technical Operations of the New Jersey Division of State and Regional Planning. He was also active in private home building in the mid 1950s. He has been President of the New Jersey State Board of Professional Planners since its creation in 1963 and is a member of the American Institute of Planners, the American Society of Planning Officials, National Association of Housing and Redevelopment Officials, and National Society of Professional Engineers. He is assistant Director of the New Jersey Federation of Planning Officials and a licensed professional planner in New Jersey and Michigan and a licensed professional engineer in New York and New Jersey. He has lectured and taught at the Graduate School of Public Administration, New York University, College of the City of New York as well as Rutgers. The State University of New Jersey. He is a consultant to the New Jersey Civil Service Commission and has been responsible

for the publication of articles and periodicals in professional journals. He recently was appointed to the New Jersey Council on the Arts. He is listed in Who's Who in the East in 1968.

CONGRESSMAN JACOBS ASSAILS
 PRESIDENT NIXON ON EC-121
 INCIDENT

HON. ANDREW JACOBS, JR.

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 10, 1969

Mr. JACOBS. Mr. Speaker, on February 26, 1968, when he was running, President Nixon delivered at Hillsboro, N.H., this statement:

What we can do is to not let this (seizure of Pueblo) happen again. I say that wherever we have—and we must have ships of this type gathering intelligence so that we will not have a surprise attack—let us make sure that we have in the area other ships or planes that can come to the rescue of such a ship in the event that it comes under attack.

This Administration knew that was going to happen, or at least they had reason to know it, because this ship had been harassed for weeks prior to the time that it was picked up by the North Koreans.

Mr. Speaker, I now direct your attention to Presidential Candidate Nixon's remarks in the Detroit Free Press on September 29, 1968:

What we should have done was to bring in the power to defend that ship or get out of those waters. Let's not let that happen again, and I won't let that happen.

What happened to the Pueblo should and will be avoided in the future. During the weeks before the ship was seized—when North Korea was warning and threatening us—we should have either moved in with cover for the ship or we should have pulled it out of there. I would have made certain one of these two actions were taken. We did neither and the inevitable occurred.

Mr. Speaker, I now direct your attention to an article by Sarah McClellendon written for the North American Newspaper Alliance within a day or two after the U.S. reconnaissance aircraft was shot down by North Korea:

A high South Korean official warned President Nixon three weeks ago that North Korea was going to shoot down two United States reconnaissance planes and capture an American spy ship. The warning, according to a reliable source who must go unnamed, was delivered to Mr. Nixon at the time of President Eisenhower's funeral by the former

TABLE II.—NATIONAL URBAN BONDS (NUB) 5 PERCENT BOND—Continued

Note: At the end of the 20-year term the investor may have the original \$5,000 returned.				
\$500 security: 20-year bond, 10-year amortization:				
5 percent income, nontaxable.....				\$25
Amortization allowance of face value taken as a tax deduction.....				50
Total.....				75
Effective savings on taxes at—	17 percent	22 percent	25 percent	28 percent
Tax savings:				
1 year.....	\$12.75	\$16.50	\$18.75	\$21.50
10 years.....	127.50	165.00	187.50	215.00
Income at \$25 times 10 years.....	250.00	250.00	250.00	250.00
Tax savings over 10 years.....	127.50	165.00	187.50	215.00
Total increment.....	377.50	415.00	437.50	465.00
Total return over 10 years (percent).....	75.5	83.0	87.5	93.0
Annual return (percent).....	7.6	8.3	8.8	9.3

South Korean Ambassador to the United States, Il Kwon Chung.

And finally, Mr. Speaker, an item by Mr. Richard Homan, from the Washington Post, April 26, 1969:

The United States provided fighter plane protection for its reconnaissance flights off North Korea "for a considerable length of time after the seizure of the U.S.S. Pueblo last year." But this protection was discontinued before the Navy EC-121 was shot down by North Korea last week, General Earle G. Wheeler, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff disclosed yesterday.

It was ended—

He said—

because after using it for a certain period of time . . . we had no response in the way of hostile activities.

In other words, Mr. Speaker, it worked so we decided it was no good.

President Kennedy said:

It is easier to make the speeches than to make the decisions.

How true.

HOW TO RADICALIZE STUDENTS

HON. JONATHAN B. BINGHAM

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 10, 1969

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, today's article by Mr. Tom Wicker of the New York Times as to the kind of legislation now being seriously considered in the House Education and Labor Committee is most disturbing. If it is at all accurate, then we are gravely threatened by panic.

The article follows:

[From the New York Times, June 10, 1969]
 IN THE NATION: HOW TO RADICALIZE STUDENTS
 (By Tom Wicker)

WASHINGTON, June 9.—It may already be too late to stop the punitive, unnecessary and ill-conceived legislation against students and universities now being seriously considered in the House of Representatives; but if anything can halt the blundering rush of vengeful politicians into Federal control of education, it may be the sensible statement issued today by the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence.

Mrs. Edith Green of Oregon apparently does not have the votes to get this legislation out of her subcommittee. So she will try to get the full Education and Labor Committee at its meeting tomorrow to take the bill away from the subcommittee; for this purpose she

N. KOREA

CARL T. ROWAN

Spy Planes Harvest Crucial 'Enemy' Data

With about as much grace as possible, President Nixon has swallowed his campaign braggadocio about what he would do if "a fourth-rate military power" like North Korea confronted him with a Pueblo-type attack.

Nixon has made it clear that the shooting down of an unarmed U.S. reconnaissance plane was actually a more brazen affront than was the seizure of the USS Pueblo. He told a press conference Friday of two basic differences in two incidents: 1. There were doubts for some time as to whether the Pueblo had entered North Korea's territorial waters, but there was no doubt whatsoever that the plane was always at least 40 miles from North Korea. 2. The North Koreans had warned previously about operations of the Pueblo, but there had been no warnings about the flights although 190 of them had occurred previously this year.

Why, then, did the President not order a military reprisal for an attack that he characterized as "unprovoked, deliberate and without warning"? Why did he gulp down the bold words he used in ridiculing President Johnson's "weak" response to the Pueblo seizure, covering it only with the lame hint that he might still respond militarily?

The answer is simply that Nixon felt he could not risk

reopening the Korean war when his top priority chore is to extricate the United States from the Vietnam war. He sensed that he would not have solid U.S. backing for military retaliation, not only because Americans don't want another war in Asia, but also because millions of Americans have misgivings about sending out "spy ships" and "spy planes."

Since Francis Gary Powers' U2 plane was shot down over Russia in 1960, millions of Americans have harbored notions that these missions are merely dangerous cloak-and-dagger activities by fools and warmongers. Nixon listed "protection of 56,000 American boys in Korea" as his reason for ordering surveillance flights resumed around North Korea. It is too bad he or someone does not tell the American people more of the whole truth about why such "spy flights" are necessary.

The public has never been told the true significance of the U2 flights in that extraordinary venture that was code-named Project Chalice.

Some Americans still ask why the Eisenhower administration "blundered" by authorizing the ill-fated Powers flight of May 1, 1960, only a fortnight before Eisenhower was to meet with Soviet Premier Khrushchev.

The truth is that previous U2 flights had provided some cru-

cially important information about the Soviet military posture.

Powers had flown 26 successful U2 missions prior to his ill-starred flight, only two of which had been directly over the Soviet Union. These flights, plus "Mission 4155" which was flown on April 16, 1960, caused the American government to revise completely its "national estimates" as to the military capability of Russia.

After U.S. experts analyzed the U2 photographs they concluded that they had been grossly wrong as to the location and number of Soviet military bases, aircraft, and missiles.

The Strategic Air Command did a complete re-targeting of the Soviet Union on the basis of the more accurate information provided by the U2s.

Thus these flights contributed immeasurably to the security not only of the United States but of Western Europe, which felt directly threatened by Soviet rockets.

Why the ill-fated Powers mission? Earlier flights had revealed three Soviet military installations about which the United States felt an urgent need for more information.

So, after the U2 flight of April 16, U.S. military and intelligence experts gave top priority to a Soviet installation known as Polarnyy Ural, sec-

ond priority to an installation known as Kysthyn-Kola, and third priority to a Soviet base in the Carpathians.

Francis Gary Powers was out to get new vital information on any or all of these installations when his plane was rocketed down, creating an international furor that was to last for years.

Spy satellites now gather much of the data that the U2s provided. But there is still a vital role to be played by ships and planes loaded with fantastically sensitive electronic data. That is why the Soviets keep electronic trawlers around the U.S. and in other key parts of the world.

Sometimes the information gathered helps to maintain peace in periods of stress. During the June war of 1967 President Nasser of Egypt and King Hussein of Jordan issued a false report that U.S. aircraft were helping the Israelis — a report probably designed to bring the Soviet Union into the fray. But because of their intelligence gadgets, the Russians knew that Nasser and Hussein were lying. So they stayed out of the war, as did the United States.

Planes like the one shot down can provide the kind of information about "enemy" missile shots and aircraft takeoffs that add up to the "intelligence" that a country must have in deciding issues like whether to build an anti-ballistics missile system. They provide frequency information essential to jamming enemy radars should we ever have to try to get "second strike" bombers in.

So the spy flights will continue — because the President has concluded that they are worth whatever risk, whatever crisis, may be involved.

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SUCCESS STORY IN SOUTH KOREA

HON. LEE H. HAMILTON

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 23, 1969

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, in the April issue of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Emerson Chapin in "Success Story in South Korea" concludes that Korea "has become one of the success stories of the U.S. assistance program."

Having recently returned from a survey trip to South Korea, I commend the following article especially to those of my colleagues who have not seen firsthand the relative political stability and the impressive economic progress of this small yet ruggedly anti-Communist country:

SUCCESS STORY IN SOUTH KOREA

(By Emerson Chapin)

It was only a few years ago that South Korea, wracked by poverty, political chaos and popular discontent, was widely regarded as a sinkhole of American aid. Now this small, ruggedly anti-Communist country enjoys relative political stability and is making impressive economic progress. It has become one of the success stories of the United States assistance program. How did this startling reversal come about?

Officials familiar with South Korea's history since the war with the Communist North insist that the ingredients for success had been there for a long time, however obscured they may have been in the dark days of the early 1960s. They are convinced that the apparent miracle is genuine and likely to continue, although as Assistant Secretary of State William P. Bundy has pointed out: "While Korea's achievements are considerable, its major problems require that they be kept in perspective."

Economic growth was at the rate of 7.6 percent annually over the 1962-67 period, with an 8.4 percent rise in 1967 and a surprising 13.1 percent for 1968, but it started from a very low base. The living standard is perceptibly rising, as indicated by the sale of new homes, television sets, refrigerators, more food and better clothes; but per capita income is still not much above \$140 a year, deep pockets of poverty exist and the gap between urban and rural income has been growing. Although considerable progress has been made toward democracy, the overriding need for stability and order and the government's vigilant anti-communist policy lay a heavy hand across certain sectors of society. However, to those familiar with the spirit of defeatism that so long prevailed among the Korean people, the key element is a new feeling of self-reliance and self-assurance that has begun to pervade the country. "We can do it ourselves" has become the motto for a people who long were inclined to ask: "How can we ever succeed?"

The United States helped to pave the way by patient investment which kept this shattered nation supplied with food and other necessities, laid an infrastructure in a land almost devoid of natural resources, created educational opportunities, built several layers of experienced administrative personnel and ended Korea's international isolation. Political stability, painfully attained under the Park Chung Hee government after a period of crisis and strife, established a climate in which businessmen and others could look to the future, inflation could be checked and coordinated planning begun. Once the watershed was passed, momentum built up rapidly. Austerity and hard work paid off. Three years ago, the United States aid mission was expanding; now it is being rapidly reduced.

An unintended tribute to South Korea's progress is the intensified campaign of harassment and terror carried on since late 1966 by Kim Il Sung's North Korean regime. Early in this decade, the Pyongyang government may well have felt it could afford to wait patiently until the South fell like ripe fruit into its hands. They can take this for granted no longer. The communist government, itself now in economic difficulties, has carried out a bristling rearmament program and Kim asserts that he intends to reunify the peninsula, by force if necessary, before the end of 1970.

The attempted raid on the Presidential mansion in Seoul by a carefully trained team of 31 North Korean agents in January of last year, closely followed by the seizure of the United States intelligence ship *Pueblo*, brought to world attention the intensification of the military confrontation that began when six American soldiers were deliberately slain from ambush by communist infiltrators during the visit of President Johnson in November 1966. The extent to which American military strength in Korea had been depleted because of priorities for Viet Nam was revealed during the *Pueblo* crisis. The modernization of South Korea's large forces had also long been lagging. Now that situation has been to a large extent corrected and the United Nations Command has repeatedly warned the North Koreans that their campaign of provocation and terror could have dire consequences. There is now little doubt that any overt North Korean attack across the demilitarized zone could provoke general war. Indeed many South Korean generals appear to hope that the North's provocations may provide an excuse for "hot pursuit all the way to the Yalu River." Officially, Seoul's objective is to build up the nation's economic and political strength until, in President Park's words last October, "it cannot be curbed at all and will overflow into North Korea, thus becoming a current for national unification."

II

That the Koreans are a tough, resilient people is attested by their preservation of a national identity and culture despite incursions over the centuries by the Mongols, Manchurians and Chinese. Japanese, Chinese and Russian armies fought over Korean soil, and from the turn of this century until 1945 Japan exercised a stern occupation rule that sought to stamp out national feelings and traditions. After World War II the country was cut in half, without reference to the wishes of its own people. The arbitrary division along the 38th Parallel separated the more industrialized North, with most of the country's natural resources, from the densely populated, largely agricultural South.

The savage war that raged for three years after the North Korean attack in June 1950 caused more than 800,000 military and civilian casualties among South Koreans, left property losses estimated at \$3 billion and made 25 percent of the population homeless. In addition, the communists carried off 6,000 technicians and industrial managers to work in the North. An already poor country was made much poorer.

Even without the effects of the war, the South Koreans had major handicaps to overcome. Years of Japanese occupation had left a majority of the people illiterate in their own language. Subordination of native Koreans in the colonial régime meant that there were few trained and experienced administrators. But Japanese repression, instead of crushing Korean nationalism, stirred only a more intense patriotic feeling, channeled into oppositionist activity. Those who became Korea's leaders after 1945 had been in exile or had devoted themselves to resistance and had little experience in the positive aspects of governing. This experience, coupled with the outspoken, often contentious Korean character, meant that in the long reconstruction period much of the national

As a result, even though as many as 80 per cent of the unemployed receive maximum benefits in a number of states, the system no longer provides weekly payments that maintain a minimum standard of decent living for unemployed workers. As a matter of fact the benefits paid by 45 states are currently below the poverty level yardstick of the United States government.

As inadequate as existing benefits are, they do not even cover all workers.

Many RCIA local unions have been able to negotiate supplemental unemployment compensation benefits. But this is an inadequate substitute for a thorough modernization of the structure on a nationwide basis to provide proper protection for all unemployed workers.

To bring about a comprehensive revision of the unemployment compensation system, the AFL-CIO Department of Social Security has prepared a model law, and it recommends adoption by all states. The long-term goal of the AFL-CIO is to bring all wage and salaried workers into the protection of the system.

Currently excluded are establishments with fewer than four workers, agricultural workers, employees of agricultural processing establishments, non-profit institutions, state and local governments, subcontractors, and individuals working under contract who in fact have an employment relationship.

Further, the present regulations for qualifying for benefits are arbitrary and restrictive and should be brought up-to-date: The AFL-CIO recommends that:

1. Employment should not be required in more than two quarters of the base year.

2. Low wage earners should not have to work longer than high wage earners to establish their right to benefits.

3. Outside limits should be defined as follows: Where a multiple of the weekly benefit amount is used, it should not require base year earnings of more than 30 times the weekly benefit amount; where a multiple of high quarter is used, it should not require base year earnings of more than one and one-half times high quarter earnings whether expressed as a multiple of the weekly benefit amount or of high quarter earnings. That is, when the weekly benefit amount is one-twentieth of the high quarter earnings, the base year earnings should be not more than 30 times the weekly benefit amount.

4. A claimant should not be required to meet more than one formula or type of wage qualifying requirement.

Regarding payments, a flexible maximum weekly schedule should be set up so that benefits will automatically keep pace with wages.

The Federation recommends that weekly benefit payments should be equal to two-thirds of the worker's full-time earnings, and in no case be less than one-half. This amount should be computed on the gross earnings on those weeks of the base year when wages were highest.

Every claimant should be entitled to at least 26 weeks under state law. For variable duration provisions, this should be the minimum rather than the maximum.

The "waiting week" should be eliminated or at least compensated retroactively after a few weeks of unemployment.

Unemployment compensation should be paid during labor disputes:

In the case of lockouts;

Lay-offs during negotiations;

An employer violation of any state or Federal labor law, or any arbitration decisions;

To workers not directly interested in the labor dispute; and

If a labor dispute occurs at a location other than the worker's place of employment.

The model statute also includes provisions to secure the soundness of the funds, including the raising of the taxable wage base to at least the \$7,800 used by the social security system.

But I'm hopeful that the program will provoke more head-nodding than head knocking, that it will produce more open doors than closed minds, and that there will be more agreement than argument. Like any planning effort, this exercise is a means to an end—a point of departure toward a new order of understanding of where we're going and what it takes to get there.

There are two points I would like to make. One: we're not going to get anywhere in terms of building a more effective, efficient system if we persist in compartmentalizing civil aviation in our thinking or in practice. As we said on page two of one of the books we put in your hands before you came here, the National Aviation System in its broadest sense "encompasses the manufacturers of aircraft airframes, engines and components; the private, business, and airline operators of aircraft; the regulators of the economic use of aircraft; and the providers of the airways, the airports, and ground access facilities and services."

Virtually anything that's a problem for any one segment of the civil aviation society is also a problem for its other members, or interferes in some way with the effectiveness or the profitability of their operations.

The National Aviation System Plan, therefore, must meet the needs of civil aviation in its broadest sense, over and above the desires of any of its artificial divisions.

According to the Federal Aviation Act, passed by the 85th Congress ten-and-a-half years ago, the FAA was created "... to provide for the regulation and promotion of civil aviation in such manner as to best foster its development and safety, and to provide for the safe and efficient use of the airspace by both civil and military aircraft ..."

That emphasis on "civil aviation" and "civil and military aircraft" is my own. As I look on it there are only two classes of aviation—civil and military. The enabling legislation identified civil aviation as an entity, not a conglomerate; that is the way I think of civil aviation, and that is the way I suggest we ought to treat it.

Those who comprise this civil aviation family are well represented here today. Our purpose is a mutual one—to bring into being a new aviation system designed to accommodate everyone who wants to fly.

We're hard pressed to do that today, at least in certain busy air transportation centers. The forecasts have caught up with us. The congestion that has been predicted for so long has arrived. The marvel to me is that the system has been elastic enough to absorb the growth that has occurred, consistent with safety.

Nearly all of the industry statistics show that actual growth has outpaced the forecasts. When the National Airspace System design was established in 1964, the forecast called for handling 13 million IFR operations a year by 1975. Yet by 1967, the number of IFR operations had climbed to more than 16 million and the revised estimate for 1975 had gone up to 33 million.

Fortunately, this doubling in volume is well within the growth capacity of the computer-based system. But all of the other elements in the civil aviation operations network are not as readily expandable. At present, there are far too many potential choke points in the system. These range from terminal airspace limitations to such surface problems as inadequate access roads, deficiencies in baggage handling, and a shortage of gate positions.

The most immediate problems, however, relate to the lack of capacity in the airways/airports system. Our forecasts on air traffic growth are meaningless unless the restraints to growth are overcome.

My number one priority, therefore, will be to win support for the Administration's air-

ways/airports legislative package—a package that has real substance to it—and to commend that package to all of civil aviation.

Now, where are we going to get the substantial resources we need?

The legislative program we have proposed to the Congress faces up to the fact that large outlays of funds are essential if we are to maintain the high level of safety and while improving the efficiency in air travel.

The new and expanded airways program contemplated by the Administration will require a very substantial investment for the automation of the air traffic control system, as well as other new terminal facilities and equipment. And it would double the existing grant-in-aid program.

To help finance these expenditures, we have proposed additional taxes on the users, since the users are the principal beneficiaries of these improvements.

It is worth noting at this point that when we reduce schedule delays—with safety—through improved facilities, we will virtually eliminate the vast waste of resources—fuel, equipment and crews. Without going into the other costs implicit in current delays, I would guess that the waste in fuel alone exceeds \$80 million for the carriers.

These dollars are the debt service on a Billion dollars which these same users could employ productively. And unless we accomplish the improvements we seek to cope with the rapid growth in air transportation, things will get worse; not better.

We can no longer live with alternating periods of feast and famine in terms of public sympathy or fiscal support for civil aviation facilities. Neither can we afford to vacillate on equipment requirements or operational procedures that can mean life or death in a crowded sky. We must recognize the realities of air transportation as they exist today and will exist tomorrow, and make a sustained effort to establish both the near-term and long-range capabilities those realities demand.

The second point I want to make is that: we don't need to wait on any "round-the-corner" technology to do this job. The middle years of this century have been remarkably fertile technologically. We can be very busy throughout the next 10 or 20 years by simply exploiting the science and technology available to us.

Updating and improving our airports and airways is not a basic research project, an R&T program, or a technological WPA. The big job is to buy and integrate. It's squarely up to us to seize this once in a lifetime opportunity, too long dormant, and take the quantum jump in air traffic management and safety which computer-based technologies have made possible.

An industry that can automate ticket scheduling, inventory control, even baggage handling, can't afford to lag in the areas where accuracy, speed, and efficiency are vital to safety!

The NAS system now in the process of implementation is a major step in the right direction. The short-term objective is to complete that system as quickly as possible and to augment it as soon as possible with better means of data acquisition, more efficient use of the airspace, and increased runway capacities.

One of our problems is that we can't turn off the present system while we install the new one. We can't put up a "closed for alterations" sign. The automated system was designed to blend into the existing one, preserving the traffic flow and maintaining safety standards during the transition. This is a neat trick but one that can't be performed overnight. Fortunately, as I have said, we have the technologies. All we need now are resources and resourcefulness. I'm confident that resourcefulness exists in abundance within our ranks.

I have one final thought this morning. As we discuss the future of aviation over these next few days, and as we consider what automation will do for us, let's bear in mind that flying and flight control are still tasks that people do best. Planning is also a people function. We're not about to automate the man out of the system. As we move farther downstream in the automation process, the controller will become more and more the manager of a ground-based system, just as the aircraft commander will be increasingly the manager of an airborne system.

I think crew acceptance of the new system will come readily, for it will upgrade rather than downgrade the pilot's role. At the same time it will greatly increase his efficiency and the overall safety of his aircraft.

Automation offers the opportunity to relieve the pilot of routine physical tasks so he can be a better master. The devices will be his dependable slaves, while his own talents are freed for matters requiring the exercise of his judgment, not his muscle.

The talents essential to civil aviation will not diminish in the future; they will grow, just as the prospects for greater air transportation productivity will increase in direct proportion to the wisdom, the energy, and the quality of leadership we assert in planning the course and complexion of the National Aviation System.

NEEDED: A NEW SYSTEM OF UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION

HON. ABNER J. MIKVA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 23, 1969

Mr. MIKVA. Mr. Speaker, unemployment compensation is one of the most important protections that workers, their families, and communities have. National policy and a State-by-State system of jobless insurance were formulated more than 30 years ago. Since then, shamefully little has been done to keep the system realistic and effective, as the economy and standards of this country have steadily advanced. An article entitled "Needed: A New System of Unemployment Compensation," in the February issue of the Advocate, the national monthly magazine of the Retail Clerks International Association, AFL-CIO, makes a compelling case for the need to modernize the present unemployment compensation system, and how it can be done. With unanimous consent, I insert the article in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, as follows:

NEEDED: A NEW SYSTEM OF UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION

Unemployment compensation laws need a drastic upgrading to provide adequate protections for today's workers.

For the past 30 years, unemployment compensation benefits have remained nearly static because of interstate competition for business.

On the other hand, wages and prices have soared in this period, so the system has lost ground in achieving its original objectives.

As a result of these disparities, maximum weekly benefits have declined from 65 per cent of average base wages to 42 per cent. A \$3,000 tax base which represented 95 per cent of covered wages in 1939 now represents only 53 per cent.

can brigade (from the Seventh Division) moved north of the broad Imjin River. A chain-link fence, electrified in many places, has been erected along much of the 155-mile line, backed up with minefields, tank traps and explosive charges. Electronic detection equipment has been brought in to slow the infiltration; bloodhounds also are used. A defense in depth, with new strongpoints constructed between the front line and the bustling city of Seoul, only 30 miles away, affirms the military's determination to prevent any repetition of 1950, when invading forces reached the capital in little more than a day. A ring of Hawk missiles has been installed around Seoul, which is only three-and-a-half minutes' jet time from the border.

Last summer there was considerable concern that the militant rulers of Pyongyang, misinterpreting the lack of a military response to the *Pueblo* seizure and the raid against the Presidential mansion, might stage an "Israeli-type" offensive in a chosen sector, bite off a chunk of territory, then call a halt and await the reaction, knowing that the United States, heavily committed in Viet Nam, wishes to avoid a serious involvement in Korea. This worry was strongest among South Korean staff officers, who lack much of the advanced equipment of the U.S. divisions, and whose men in the rainy season must often spend a disproportionate amount of time in maintenance and repair of installations, roads and bridges rather than in combat training. High officials in Korea believe that war came very close in January 1968, when success in the attempt to assassinate President Park might well have prompted the South Koreans to march north; nor do they discount the continuing danger.

However, General Bonesteel has kept his forces under strict orders to avoid escalation, and spokesmen in the Military Armistice Commission at Panmunjom regularly convey stern warnings to the communists that force will be met with force. The Seoul government feels that Pyongyang could not desire full-scale war in present circumstances, since this would be suicidal without outside help. The North Koreans could hardly want intervention again by Chinese forces. As for the Soviet Union, it must now be exercising whatever restraining influence it can on them; and however reckless they may be, this influence must be considerable since they rely on Moscow for supplies and weapons.

The South Korean armed forces are the third largest in the non-communist world. They include a 540,000-man army, a strong air force, a small but effective naval component and a 2 million-member militia force. The army has 19 active divisions, including the two serving in Viet Nam, and 10 in reserve. Its quality and capability are highly regarded by American advisers and its contingent in Viet Nam has demonstrated its toughness. However, low pay for its largely drafted servicemen, limited food rations and shortages of modern weapons and equipment raise complaints from top officers. The air force has more than 300 modern planes, including F-84s and F-86s and the F-5 Freedom Fighter. But delivery of F-4C Phantom jets from the United States, originally scheduled for 1968, has been postponed until probably the middle of 1969. Air defenses have been dramatically strengthened, however, by missiles and by a rapid build-up of American air power following the *Pueblo* incident. U.S. supersonic fighters are now dispersed at five major bases, many of them in concrete revetments.

High officials in Seoul, still uncertain over the motives for the *Pueblo* seizure and the raid on the President's Blue House, feel that in the long run these actions backfired by stimulating the strong reinforcement of South Korean's defenses. While they hope to keep the military situation damped down, they believe that in a combat situation they can cope with whatever forces the North Koreans may launch against them.

III

A rapid increase in foreign investment indicates that there is considerable international confidence in South Korea's military security, though some businessmen believe the current rate of investment might be several times as high if the threat of trouble from the North could be eliminated. A special mission from private American industry, commissioned by President Johnson and led by George W. Ball, visited South Korea in the spring of 1967 and submitted a very favorable report. It noted the attractions of an investment law that welcomes 100 percent foreign ownership and permits repatriation of capital and profits on a liberal schedule.

In the first half of 1968, Ford decided to assemble cars and trucks in Korea, Caterpillar and International Harvester decided on long-term credit extensions, and Baldwin pianos was going into production. National Distilleries outlined a program to produce synthetic alcohol from petrochemicals and Union Oil of California contracted for a joint project to build a big thermal power plant near Seoul. Plans progressed for a large integrated iron and steel mill and for a large petrochemical complex with participation by seven important U.S. companies. A country that five years ago had to import all refined petroleum products now has a second major refinery in operation, with construction of a third and fourth under way. Total foreign capital projects approved by the government from 1962 to 1968 had reached 113 by late December with \$91.5 million involved. U.S. investors head the list, with Japanese second.

Exports, which amounted to only \$32 million in 1960, rose at an average of 42 percent annually during the First Five Year Plan. Last year's goal of \$500 million was slightly exceeded. The target for this year is \$700 million and that for 1970 is \$1 billion. Exports of plywood and textiles to the United States head the list. Industrial production has soared, tax collections rose about 50 percent last year, and unemployment and under-employment have been substantially reduced from the dangerously high levels of a few years ago. Wholesale prices showed an increase of 7.1 percent in 1968, slightly exceeding the 6 percent that the government had set as a desirable limit. The policy of liberalized imports was reversed somewhat, checks being put on such luxury items as air-conditioners, television sets and refrigerators, in a move to slow consumption and improve foreign payment balances. The Economic Planning Minister, Park Choong Hoon, has noted that the nation's imports were approaching \$1 billion annually, making it about 20th among the world's markets.

Taking account of the lag in agricultural development, the government reached a fundamental decision in October to raise the official price paid to farmers for rice deliveries by 17 percent, thus encouraging greater production, raising farm incomes and shifting consumption to other grains. Diversification of farming, livestock breeding, off-season farm projects and agrobusiness ventures are being promoted and the government has recently invested in seed research to improve plant strains.

The Second Five Year Plan, which began in 1967, has already been revised upward, since most of its goals appeared attainable at least a year ahead of schedule; and the foreign-investment goal was almost attained last year. Marked improvement in living standards is projected. South Korea is expected to be self-sufficient in food-grain production and free of reliance on grant aid from the United States by 1971. The revised estimates indicate that the growth rate will average 10 percent annually and international trade will reach three times the 1965 rate. Education will be broadened and improved and science and technology, hitherto neglected, will get more help. Perhaps most important, the growth of population, which

pushed the crowded land past the 30-million mark this year, is beginning to be stemmed by a government-supported family-planning program. The rate of increase has been cut in five years from 3 percent to 2.4 percent; plans call for a decline to 2 percent by 1971 and hope is voiced for reaching 1 percent by 1986.

Many economic hazards remain. Chief among them is inflation as government budgets rise almost 50 percent a year and the amount of money in circulation soars. American advisers see danger in the tendency of the newly confident Korean officials to attempt too much too fast. Some projects, such as the Seoul-Pusan superhighway, the petrochemical complex or the integrated steel mill may be more a matter of national prestige than sound economic ventures under present conditions. The economic atmosphere is heady in Seoul these days, and Americans hope Korean planners will not be carried away by their enthusiasm. Nevertheless there is rejoicing over the new mood that has replaced the defeatism of years past.

Corruption has almost a way of life in Korea, as in many underdeveloped countries, and eliminating it is an arduous process. At the grassroots level, underpaid civil servants are vulnerable to temptations of many sorts, and underpaid teachers have been prone to accept favors from parents for advancing individual pupils in the highly competitive educational system. The Park government, like its predecessors, has periodically been rocked by scandal, although the President himself is free of any suspicion. Recently the government, under opposition pressure, has acknowledged gross profiteering by big business monopolies and companies assisted by the government in attracting foreign investment; investigations are in progress. These incidents have not shaken the faith of the governing Democratic-Republican Party in its policy of promoting big business and industry as the fastest means of spurring economic development.

IV

Any estimate of the degree of democratization in South Korea will depend on the standard one sets. For reasons not of their own making, the Koreans were late starters. Democracy was largely discredited in the late 1950s under Dr. Rhee and in the 1960-61 period when an elected government proved incapable of effective rule. Now, eight years after the military coup, the President and the 175 members of the National Assembly, chosen at four-year intervals, are the only elective officials; all other posts, national and local, are filled by appointment. All political organizations are right of center and a prominent politician has remarked that it will be many years before the country can afford the luxury of any organized left-of-center activity. The left-wing movement, by its squabbling and factionalism, has gravely impaired its own prospects and many of its members have joined the parties of the right. In general, politics are more a matter of personality than ideology—and Korean personalities are strong.

In many sectors the harsh hand of repression has been felt: the far-reaching network of intelligence agents is reported to have compiled extensive dossiers on several million people, particularly intellectuals and student leaders. The groups that led the student opposition to the treaty with Japan a few years ago have been effectively broken up, and professors who lost their jobs then (many of them are back in teaching posts) are not expressing their views publicly. The universities are administered by educators who have shown themselves friendly to the Park regime. Opposition politicians who have spoken too boldly about the personal lives of the governing hierarchy or who view communism less than harshly have sometimes been imprisoned—a situation that has not always damaged their popularity.

energy was spent in political feuding and infighting.

Since the Panmunjom armistice settlement of 1953, the United States has provided more than \$3.6 billion in aid to Korea. This has been supplemented by funds from international aid programs and private charitable enterprises. In the immediate postwar period, emphasis necessarily was on relief—feeding people, and clothing and sheltering them—and on the repair of war damage. With this went efforts to lay the foundation for eventual economic and industrial development.

By 1957 much of the war damage had been repaired; the economic growth rate averaged 5.3 percent annually from 1954 to 1957. But as the régime of the aging President Syngman Rhee became a prey to corruption, repression and mismanagement, this rate dropped to 3.6 percent in the 1958-61 period and was largely nullified by the rapid rise in population. Discontent and poverty pushed the nation to the point of student revolution (1960) and the subsequent bloodless coup of 1961, in which a military junta dominated by Major-General Park Chung Hee displaced the inefficient and fumbling civil government headed by Dr. John M. Chang. Meanwhile, despite the political instability, the aid program was slowly achieving results, and in 1962, having concluded that a base had been constructed for an independent South Korean economy, the United States shifted emphasis. It selected five major areas of development designed to push the country toward an eventual self-supporting economy. These five priority areas were power, mining, transport and communications, key industries, and investment and agricultural credit.

Much of the credit for what has happened since then must go to the strong, stubbornly determined leadership of President Park. With the best of intentions but impeded by a lack of civil administrative and technical experience, his junta inaugurated an ambitious five-year economic plan in 1962. Initially this faltered and many of its projects had to be abandoned or deferred. The new régime also found itself embroiled in a number of scandals. Pressed by the United States, General Park converted his military régime into a nominally civilian government by general elections in 1963 and enlisted the aid and experience of many of the old-line politicians and bureaucrats who had previously been denounced and purged. Before the new administration could gather strength it drifted dangerously close to a crisis point in 1964, when economic deprivation and pent-up frustrations seemed to be pushing the populace toward revolution. But President Park refused to yield and stamped down hard on the activities of the students and intellectual dissidents; the crisis passed, a period of political stability followed, and a number of favorable elements finally coalesced to provide the long-awaited turn upward. Progress has been at an accelerating rate since then.

Contributing factors, in addition to American help in building an industrial base, were the mood of stability following the establishment of strong political rule and the resulting feeling in the government as well as business that they could plan ahead. Control of what had threatened to become runaway inflation in 1963 and 1964, and the gradual elimination of distortions in the economy, brought long-needed incentives into play. Savings were encouraged. The opportunity to make money has increasingly attracted the large-scale foreign investment needed for industrial development.

American officials almost uniformly profess admiration for the native energy and talent of the Koreans. "We had to find several layers of technicians in government and develop an additional layer of competence in industry," said one high-ranking American in

Seoul. "We could provide equipment but we had to wait for competence in personnel to develop. Now they've got competence. There's plenty of native initiative, and an almost kinetic energy, but without financing there was no way to apply their talents."

Finally, there was a general willingness to accept American aid at face value and welcome American assistance as well intentioned. South Koreans are anti-communist and in general pro-American, no matter what occasional frictions arise. Unlike some other Asian nations, the Seoul government did not accept American aid resentfully, looking uneasily for strings that might be attached.

That the economic and industrial spurt has continued unabated into this year despite North Korean threats and subversion is attributable to President Park's decision to press ahead resolutely on the economic front even while cooperating with the United States in taking strong measures for military security. There is no doubt that one aim of the Pyongyang government has been to create insecurity in the South, hinder economic planning and frighten off foreign investment. To some extent, its threats have succeeded in stirring uneasy feelings and fears among both the urban and rural populace. But the President has told the people that continuing the drive for prosperity is equally as important as military preparedness in thwarting the communists. In addition to promising that South Korea would repulse all aggression, he has warned that "if North Korea triggers an all-out attack on the South, we should counterattack immediately and take this opportunity to achieve national reunification, thus resolving, on our own initiative, the national tragedy of territorial division."

The possibility of a South Korean "over-reaction" to Northern provocations is one of the prospects that troubles the United Nations Command in Seoul. This Command, under an American officer, General Charles H. Bonesteel 3d, has jurisdiction over the Republic of Korea forces in Korea, 550,000 strong, as well as the U.S. Eighth Army, about 50,000 strong. It has been the aim of the United States military to resist firmly all North Korean attempts to stir up trouble, but otherwise to "cool" the situation and maintain first priority for Viet Nam.

There have been periodic clashes with the North during what has become the world's longest military armistice. The Command nevertheless tended for many years to maintain a fairly relaxed attitude along the 155-mile-long demilitarized zone. Not so now. In years past it was assumed that the communists would not risk a general war, and American troops performing onerous and often dangerous duty in the front line dubbed Korea "the forgotten front." Now, however, the actions of Kim Il Sung have led some observers to believe that he might indeed be tempted to try to unify the country by force. "It isn't enough to analyze his intentions; we have to make our plans on the basis of his known capability," one American officer said. That capability is strong.

The North Koreans have 350,000 men at or close to the front line, with 8 divisions along the demilitarized zone and 10 in reserve. There is a Red Guard militia of 1.2 million men to back them up. The air force has 500 jet aircraft, including probably 60 MIG-21s operating from underground hangars. The navy is thought to have 188 ships, including four submarines and 60 high-speed torpedo boats. There are known to be 66 surface-to-air missile sites. The army is said to have about 900 Soviet-built tanks and adequate artillery. Americans and South Koreans have the highest professional respect for the combat ability of these tough, highly trained and disciplined fighting men.

Since 1966 the North Koreans have stressed the training of guerrilla forces, according to

the South Korean Central Intelligence Agency, which has played a leading role in anti-guerrilla operations. Units of 500 men have been established, each led by a major-general, each assigned to a specific province in the South. The men have undergone actual combat training in the demilitarized zone. The number of men available for infiltration missions into the South has recently been put at 30,000 to 40,000 by American officials. In December, Kim Il Sung tightened his military control, purging his long-time Defense Minister, General Kim Chang Pong, and installing General Choi Hyon, generally regarded as the North's leading guerrilla warfare specialist.

The United Nations Command reported 543 serious incidents in the demilitarized zone in 1968, compared with 445 in the previous year. According to a South Korean spokesman, a total of 172 North Korean infiltrators were killed out of 1,087 who attempted to cross the line; most of the rest were presumed to have been driven back into the North. About 160 other agents and guerrillas were killed below the truce zone. The U.N. forces suffered more than 150 casualties. The resolution of the Pueblo Incident, with North Korea returning the 82 surviving crewmen after accepting an already repudiated "apology" from the United States, had no apparent effect in alleviating the state of open confrontation. In a "1968 summary" speech at a meeting of the Military Armistice Commission, Major-General Gilbert H. Woodward of the United States declared that "Communist North Korea has made 1968 the bloodiest year in Korea since 1953" and charged that its aggressive activity "involved assassination, terror, cold-blooded murder, kidnapping, mutilation and brutal attacks against U.N. Command personnel."

Between October 30 and November 2, the North Koreans put ashore 120 agents from high-speed boats along the mountainous east coast area in what was believed to be a bold effort to lay a basis for an eventual campaign of guerrilla warfare on the Viet Nam model. By January 10, a total of 110 of these men had been killed and 7 captured, but the South Koreans were compelled to mobilize 40,000 regular soldiers and militiamen and initiate a large-scale security program to protect farm families from terrorism in the remote rural region. President Park has predicted that Pyongyang will increase its infiltration of guerrillas and agents, and U.S. analysts have expressed concern over what they believe may become a program of subversion patterned on that pursued by the Hanoi regime in South Viet Nam in the late 1950s prior to the outbreak of open warfare in Viet Nam.

But there are important differences between South Viet Nam and South Korea. Northern agents usually find themselves conspicuous and are quickly detected when they appear either in cities or in rural areas of the South. A system of high rewards for reporting enemy agents and severe penalties for concealing them has proved extremely effective: even family members returning to their old homes from the North after years of separation usually are turned in to the authorities. The Seoul government has announced that it has broken several large rings of agents, including one that operated on the big island of Cheju fifty miles off the southern tip of the peninsula. Both Korean and American officials are convinced that the people of the South, with memories of the war years, will remain hostile to overtures from northern agents, but there is some nervousness about how the population would react to a widespread campaign of terror throughout the countryside.

In the rugged country north of Seoul, American and South Korean troops maintain a state of extreme alert. Since early 1968, defenses have been reinforced, all positions heavily sandbagged and another Ameri-

April 23, 1969

Although the carpenters had a no-strike clause in their contract, they called in "sick" for 15 days; finally, the construction firm worked out a compromise. Peace, however, proved to be impermanent. The union carpenters insisted that they be paid not only for installing the doors but, in effect, for the processing work done on the doors (by members of another carpenters' local, incidentally) before the doors were received.

That, not surprisingly, was too much for the contractor to swallow. He stood fast, even though he is being assessed \$100 a day by the Corps of Engineers for failure to complete the project.

There certainly is unfairness in this situation but somehow we can't see that the NLRB has put its finger on it.

ADMINISTRATION COMMENDED FOR CHANGES IN 1970 CENSUS

HON. WILLIAM C. CRAMER

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 23, 1969

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to note that the administration has ordered a sharp reduction in the number of questions to be asked in the 1970 decennial census, as well as a rewording of some of the most sensitive questions.

Last month, I expressed to Commerce Secretary Maurice H. Stans my belief that many of the questions which were drafted by the previous administration invaded the privacy of the American citizen. I also introduced a bill designed to limit the questions to be asked.

I am happy to report that by letter dated April 17, the Secretary advised me that he has ordered a number of changes in the census questionnaire. For example, 80 percent of the American people will only be asked a total of 23 questions. Fifteen percent will be asked 66 questions and only 5 percent will be asked the full 73 questions.

In addition, the Secretary has either deleted or reworded a number of objectionable questions dealing with the adequacy of kitchen and bathroom facilities to remove any implication the Government wants to know with whom they are shared.

I believe these revisions are a step in the right direction. In light of the fact that the extensive preparation for the 1970 census was already completed by the previous administration, it appears that more extensive changes, although desirable, could not be instituted without delaying the census entirely.

I, therefore, endorse and applaud the administration for making these zero-hour revisions of longstanding plans for the census in an attempt to overcome the objections that have been voiced and I am especially gratified that the Secretary has already committed himself to take further steps to be implemented in future censuses, including submitting proposed questions to Congress 2 years in advance of future censuses, increasing the number of representatives of the general public to advisory committees which contribute to the formulation of census questions, and appointing a blue-

ribbon commission to examine a number of important questions regarding the Census Bureau including whether or not the decennial census can be conducted on a voluntary or partially voluntary basis.

I am happy to insert into the RECORD at this point the letter I received from the Secretary, as well as an enclosure which explains the purposes and uses of the 1970 census information:

THE SECRETARY OF COMMERCE,
Washington, D.C., April 17, 1969.

HON. WILLIAM C. CRAMER,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR BILL: The main purpose of this letter is to advise you of some immediate changes in census procedure which I have ordered. These changes include a substantial reduction in the number of individuals who will be asked to respond to the longer census forms. Approximately three million households previously designated to receive a 66-question form will now receive a questionnaire containing only 23 questions.

Questions relating to the adequacy of kitchen and bathroom facilities have been reworded to remove any implication that the government is interested in knowing with whom these facilities may be shared.

The Secretary of Commerce is exercising greater supervision over the general operations of the Bureau of the Census and independent experts have been retained to advise on census matters.

The questionnaire which will be mailed to households in 1970 will be accompanied by a cover letter explaining the great need for census data and emphasizing the confidentiality of all responses.

In addition to these changes, which are being implemented immediately, these further steps will be implemented after the 1970 census: (1) proposed questions will be submitted to the appropriate Committees of Congress two years in advance of future censuses; (2) an increased number of representatives of the general public will be appointed to various advisory committees which contribute to the formulation of census questions; and (3) a blue-ribbon Commission will be appointed to fully examine a number of important questions regarding the Census Bureau, including whether or not the decennial census can be conducted on a voluntary or a partially voluntary basis. The Commission would also examine and offer proposals for modernizing and improving the operations of the Census Bureau.

Because the 10-year lapse of time between decennial censuses can result in unfamiliarity regarding their nature and purpose, I felt it might be helpful to provide you with some basic data and information concerning the questions to be asked in 1970, the scope of the data sought, and the uses to which the results are put.

Some of the most frequently asked questions, along with my answers, follow:

1. Question. Is the 1970 census more extensive than previous censuses?

Answer. No. The number of questions to be asked in 1970 is about the same as in 1960, less than in 1950 and 1940, and far less than in some earlier censuses. Of the average household heads to be queried in 1970, four of five will answer 23 questions, three of twenty will answer 66 questions, and only one of twenty will answer 73 questions. Under certain unusual circumstances, some household heads will be asked to answer 89 questions.

2. Question. Will the citizen's right of privacy be protected in the 1970 census?

Answer. Yes. Whatever a respondent reports remains strictly confidential under the law. Every employee of the Census Bureau takes an oath of confidentiality and is subject

to severe penalties for violation of the oath. In the long history of the census, there has never been a violation of the confidentiality of the information given.

3. Question. Would the 1970 census yield adequate results if the response were voluntary rather than mandatory?

Answer. Voluntary response at its best falls far short of response to a mandatory inquiry. Since the first Decennial Census in 1790, response has been mandatory. It is so in every other country of the world where a census is conducted. Professional statisticians will testify that a voluntary census would be unreliable and practically useless. A voluntary procedure would yield distorted and deficient statistics for whole groups of people and for entire areas. This procedure would very likely be especially prejudicial to low-income groups.

4. Question. Who uses the census results?

Answer. Census data are used by every Federal government department, State and local governments, and the private sector. Many laws depend upon accurate census reports. Questions such as those on housing are specifically required by statute. Government programs on poverty, housing, education, welfare, agriculture, transportation, veterans, and senior citizens require and rely upon the census tabulations. Many of the decisions of the Congress would be almost impossible in the absence of reliable census data.

These questions are illustrative of those which have been asked in recent weeks. The answers are necessarily brief. Enclosed is a memorandum which explains in more detail the purposes and uses of census information. If you have questions concerning the 1970 census we would be pleased to discuss them with you at your convenience.

Sincerely,

MAURICE STANS,
Secretary of Commerce.

PURPOSES AND USES OF 1970 CENSUS INFORMATION

1. NAME, SEX, RACE, DATE OF BIRTH, AND MARITAL STATUS

Questions 1 through 12 are designed to identify household occupants by name, relationship to head of household, sex, race, age and marital status. These questions will be asked of 100 per cent of the population.

2. THE HOUSING QUESTIONS

The Census of Housing, required by act of Congress in 1940 (13 U.S.C. 141), contains thirty five (35) questions regarding the adequacy of housing facilities. Fifteen questions will be asked of 100 per cent of the population; five will be asked of 20 per cent; five will be asked of 15 per cent; and ten will be asked of 5 per cent. Some sample questions and comment on their uses follow:

Kitchen and bathroom

Question H-3 (100 per cent): Do you have complete kitchen facilities?

- ☐ Yes, for this household only.
- ☐ Yes, but also used by another household.
- ☐ No complete kitchen facilities for this household.

Question H-7 (100 per cent): Do you have bathtub or shower?

- ☐ Yes, for this household only.
- ☐ Yes, but also used by another household.
- ☐ No bathtub or shower.

Comment: The absence of a kitchen and/or a bathroom for the exclusive use of the household is a major indicator of urban blight and slum conditions. This information is needed by HEW, HUD and other Federal, State and local agencies.

Value of property

Question H-11 (100 per cent): If you live in a 1-family house which you own or are buying—

What is the value of this property, that is, how much do you think this property (house and lot) would sell for if it were for sale?

Nevertheless, foreigners who go to Korea expecting to find a repressive police state are likely to be pleasantly surprised. Politicians are outspoken and election campaigns have been waged with considerable heat. There is little doubt, in fact, that if his opponents had been able to submerge their differences and wage a united campaign, Park Chung Hee would have been defeated in his first Presidential race in 1963. Newspapers tend to be generally critical of the government—critical of almost everything if sometimes seems—reflecting the tradition of resistance that dates back to the Japanese occupation. National Assembly debates are often stormy and sometimes violent, for oppositionists there, at least, have a public platform where they cannot be muzzled.

Though various ministers have come and gone, the Cabinet headed by Premier Chung Il Kwon has preserved an unusual continuity. Mr. Chung, former Chief of Staff during the Korean War and later Ambassador in Washington, has held office for five years. Though the Park government is nominally civilian, seven of the ministers are retired generals and 25 other former generals are members of the National Assembly. Twelve of South Korea's 29 ambassadors abroad are former high military men and three-fourths of the state-run enterprises and companies supported by government investment have retired generals as their presidents.

For some time attention has been focused on the Presidential election of 1971, when President Park reaches the end of the eight years which he is constitutionally permitted to serve. Fears are being voiced that the President may find it advisable to amend the Constitution or suspend it under a declaration of emergency in order to continue his leadership and prevent a disastrous struggle for power. After having initially denied any intention of seeking a constitutional amendment, leaders of the government party have begun this year to talk publicly about such a step as a means of assuring "public stability." Dr. Yu Chin Oi, the brilliant constitutional scholar and former university president who has been leading the opposition New Democratic Party, stresses that independent South Korea has not yet had a normal constitutional transfer of power and declares that a legal succession is the very essence of the democratic process. Following the 1967 general elections, which prompted some well-grounded charges of fraud and rigging, the government party now holds a little less than two-thirds of the Assembly seats, but with the support of 12 independents it has adequate strength to force through an amendment. The consequences might be grave.

There is also speculation about the plans and prospects of Kim Jong Pil, 43 years of age, long President Park's right-hand man, who as a lieutenant-colonel provided the directing force in the 1961 coup, served as the initial head of the South Korean CIA, then organized the Democratic-Republican Party as the vehicle for the changeover to civil rule. He went into political exile twice when his rivals seemed to have the upper hand, and last May, finding his position again being eroded, resigned from the party chairmanship and declared himself finished with politics forever. Few politicians take this declaration seriously. Whether the President might designate him as his successor, and whether this would precipitate a destructive political struggle, are already topics of keen interest in Seoul.

Much of the new confidence so plainly evident reflects South Korea's improved international standing. The normalization treaty with Japan, finally pushed through after 13 years of off-and-on negotiations with the old enemy, went far toward removing a national inferiority complex. It opened the door to \$800 million in grant, loan and investment aid from Japan over a

10-year period, eased long-standing mistrust and brought two complementary economies into possibly fruitful relations. The difficult decision to send troops to Viet Nam and their impressive performance there has given South Koreans a feeling that they are now playing an important role in the international containment of communism while repaying a debt to the allied nations that came to their aid in 1950.

South Korea has also ended her long international isolation by seeking a significant role in regional and international affairs. It was largely Korean initiative that brought about the nine-nation conference in Seoul in 1966 which gave birth to the Asian-Pacific Council (APAC), and South Korea has continued to play a prominent role in this organization, advocating recently that its members, except for Japan, be linked in a collective security grouping as envisioned by President Nixon. Koreans provided the initial impetus for the 1966 Manila Conference. President Park, Premier Chung and other officials have traveled widely in Asia, seeking to make their country and their policies better known. South Korean missions have been dispatched on long tours through Asia, Africa and South America to promote good will and offset the diplomatic efforts of the Pyongyang régime, backed by the communist bloc, in the continuing contest for support among United Nations members.

Reunification remains the overwhelming national goal, and the Republic of Korea—the only Korean government recognized by the international organization—remains committed to the United Nations formula for reunification: nationwide elections under U.N. supervision. Though the annual debate on the "Korean question" at the United Nations attracted little outside attention, it long remained a vital matter for the South Koreans, an indicator of the degree of international support for their regime against the intensified communist offensive. When the item finally was removed from automatic annual consideration on the Assembly agenda last year, the voting indicated that South Korea retained substantial majority support.

The demarcation line running near the 38th Parallel in Korea is probably the most tightly closed border in the world and there presently seems little prospect of loosening it. After two decades of living with this barrier, the South Koreans have achieved a remarkable degree of political stability and economic growth; they probably have not yet reached the point where they can hold on to one without the other.

EDWARD J. DELANEY RETIRES

HON. MARGARET M. HECKLER

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 23, 1969

Mrs. HECKLER of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, the southern end of the 10th Congressional District of Massachusetts has for 31 years profited from the wisdom of Edward J. Delaney, editor of the Fall River Herald News. Mr. Delaney has decided to retire from his newspaper career at this time. I know I speak for all the citizens of Fall River and the surrounding communities served by the Herald when I say that Mr. Delaney's guiding hand will be sincerely missed.

In his quiet but deliberate way, Ed Delaney established high standards for the Fall River community. As a newspaperman and an editor, he has truly served his Nation through the community

in a way much needed in our country today.

I know that my colleagues join me in saluting his outstanding career and wishing him a fruitful and satisfying retirement. A most fitting tribute expressed by Ed Delaney's associates on the Fall River Herald News on April 12, 1969, follows:

EDWARD J. DELANEY RETIRES

Edward J. Delaney, who has just retired after 31 years as editor of The Herald News, has been a major figure in the public life of Fall River all that time. Throughout his career he has had the best interests of the city and this area at heart. As the editor of The Herald News, he worked tirelessly to help Fall River through its difficult transition from the industrial patterns of the past to those of the age of technology.

In the course of his long career as an editor, Edward Delaney naturally became well known to virtually everyone in public or political life in New England and in the nation. He was respected everywhere and by everyone as a newspaperman and a humanitarian. He was, however, averse to publicity, and whenever possible, shunned the spotlight. Although his opinions were sought by everyone interested in promoting a civic cause, he never imposed them on anyone. He was always glad to help, always prodigal of his time and energy, but invariably preferred to remain in the background when public acknowledgement was given.

His assistance in making the United Fund a reality, in the development of SMTI and Bristol Community College, in promoting the Fall River Development Corporation and in numberless other causes was invaluable. So was his private assistance to numberless individuals who needed help of all kinds. His generosity in all ways was his salient characteristic in public and private.

Now, as he retires into what everyone hopes will be many years of health and pleasure, he takes with him the genuine affection of the entire staff of The Herald News and the genuine good will of the city of Fall River. He served them both well.

NLRB STRIKES AGAIN

HON. O. C. FISHER

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 23, 1969

Mr. FISHER. Mr. Speaker, another strange decision has been handed down by the National Labor Relations Board. Entitled "Unfair" the action is discussed in the April 23 issue of the Wall Street Journal. The editorial follows:

UNFAIR

At the Scott Air Force Base in southern Illinois, the National Labor Relations Board has held a St. Louis contractor guilty of an unfair labor practice. What, exactly, was the contractor doing?

Well, it seems he refused to bargain with a carpenters' union on a disputed issue. A description of that issue tells something of what's wrong with labor relations generally, and especially with the Federal involvement in them.

The construction firm, putting up two new barracks on the base, purchased 300 pre-machined wooden doors. When the doors arrived, the carpenters union insisted that its members be given the unloading job usually handled by lower-paid laborers. (If you haven't noticed, construction pay runs high; the average worker's hourly earnings far exceed those of any other production-worker group.)

way has reduced fears of such a famine in the 1970's, I believe that no "green revolution," unaccompanied by a parallel revolution in population growth rates, can long delay massive hunger.

We are told that Latin America's hundreds of millions will double within the next generation. Can anyone believe that political and economic stability can be achieved there in the face of that kind of growth?

We see hunger in America. We witness almost daily disruptions of our campuses, occurring coincident to the largest influx of new students in colleges ever.

We have come to realize that population growth and density are related to the problems of our cities, to problems of poverty, racial strife, transportation, the rotting of central cities, and the ugly and formless sprawl of suburbia.

Conservationists are beginning to see more and more that no amount of public and private spending will save our remaining wilderness, the natural beauties of our country, or prevent the continued pollution of soil, air, and water, if our population continues to grow at its present rate.

But the problem is much more than the sum of these things. It involves whether our children, or their children will enjoy any of the quality of life we enjoy. It involves whether our society and its cherished institutions can withstand the pressures and demands put upon them by rampant growth. Indeed, it may involve whether mankind itself can long survive its abuses of the delicate balance of nature that sustains it and all other life on this planet.

For one thing is clear: Our little planet simply is not going to carry more life on its surface than its natural resources can sustain. If mankind cannot control his numbers through humane and voluntary birth control methods then those numbers will be controlled by natural or manmade disasters.

Still, I am deeply troubled, as I know that many of my colleagues are troubled, about the proper role of Government in solving the population problem. In struggling with the issue in my own mind, possible solutions collide with the basic human rights so cherished by our society. In short, I have a deep conviction that governmentally imposed, coercive population control is the very antithesis of individual human freedom and would be an indefensible invasion by Government into a deeply sensitive, personal, and private relationship.

On the other hand, I do not believe that the current public programs, or mere extensions of them, really meet the problem. I do not believe that voluntary family planning programs which have as their goal making every child a wanted child will reverse, stop or even slow down the rising tide of population growth. After all, we are coming to realize that the majority of America's annual population increase is composed of wanted children.

Therefore, today I am introducing legislation that calls upon Congress to "find, encourage, and implement at the earliest possible time necessary policies, attitudes, and actions which will, by volun-

tary and humane means consistent with basic human rights and individual conscience bring about the stabilization of the population of the United States."

My hope is that congressional and public discussion of this issue—and of this goal—will help to make the American people aware of the dangers inherent in continued rampant population growth, and that they will respond by voluntarily limiting the size of their families by whatever birth control means they find acceptable. The ideal result would be that those couples who now have two or more children would make a voluntary decision not to have more. Other couples would voluntarily decide to stop at two children.

My investigation of the current national programs, research and legislation regarding the population problem has led me to this general and related conclusion: Those experts who address themselves to the preservation of our natural environment seldom address themselves to the population problem, possibly because of its controversial nature. Likewise, I find that those who address themselves to family planning and birth control programs seldom indicate a true understanding of the environmental consequences of uncontained population growth, possibly because the link between population and environment is dimly understood.

I am convinced that this is the very relationship on which the health and future of mankind as a species depend. Although man is much more than the other animals, he remains wholly dependent on the wafer-thin layer of air, water and soil that comprises the surface of our earth and, acting in ways more delicate and complicated than the most sophisticated computer, makes all life possible on this earth.

I believe that man must rethink himself in terms of his natural environment if he is to thrive, or even survive. Therefore, my bill creates within the Department of Interior a Bureau of Population and the Environment, to devote itself to searching out and making known the implications of that crucial relationship.

Furthermore, to define the authority and mission of the Bureau and the scope of the problem, my bill creates a Commission on Population and the Environment, with a life of 2 years, composed of respected men in private life and high government officials, to conduct a full study and make recommendations as to the programs and policies available to Congress and the Bureau that would be effective in this area.

I believe this bill to be a necessary forward step in coping with this highly complex problem. I believe that the true solution—should there be one—lies in the ability of free citizens becoming aware of the dangers of uncontrolled population growth and acting in their own interest by planning their families accordingly. Should this bill be effective in achieving that goal, we would, by bringing about the stabilization of our national population, demonstrate to the world that this is a problem within the power of mankind to solve. Thus we would provide by example the necessary

incentives for other nations even more beset than ours that now are approaching the problem half-heartedly, if at all.

NIMH PRESENTS AN EXCELLENT PROGRAM ON DRUG ABUSE EDUCATION

(Mr. ROGERS of Florida asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, yesterday afternoon an excellent presentation was made to the Members of the House on the drug abuse education activities of the National Institute of Mental Health.

Dr. Stanley F. Yolles, Director, National Institute of Mental Health; Dr. Sidney Cohen, Director, Division of Narcotic Addiction and Drug Abuse, National Institute of Mental Health; and Mr. Gerald N. Kurtz, Director, Office of Communications, National Institute of Mental Health, and their associates told the Members of some new approaches being taken by NIMH to inform the public, and particularly the young adult population, of the dangers of drug abuse.

I was particularly impressed with the audiovisual advertisements which, this week, are being distributed to radio and television stations across the Nation for local dissemination as a public service. These new advertisements are factual and to the point. And I believe that this will be the most effective way of stemming the shocking increase in drug abuse which we have witnessed in recent years.

I commend Dr. Yolles, Dr. Cohen, and Mr. Kurtz and those at NIMH for the work they are doing to meet this national problem, and at this point in the RECORD, I would like to insert the statements made by these gentlemen at yesterday's briefing session for the benefit of my colleagues:

DRUG ABUSE

(Statement by Stanley F. Yolles, M.D., Director, National Institute of Mental Health, Associate Administrator for Mental Health Services and Mental Health Administration, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, before the Subcommittee on Public Health and Welfare of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, Apr. 22, 1969)

Mr. Chairman, I am happy to appear today to discuss the scope of the national drug abuse problem and the efforts of the National Institute of Mental Health in the area of drug abuse.

Drug abuse takes a multitude of shapes. It is the heroin user injecting his "H," the methedrine user high on "speed," or the fourteen-year-old sniffing airplane glue. But it is also the suburban housewife using her diet pills for a quick pick-me-up, the driving executive alternating between stimulants by day and sleep-inducing barbiturates at night, the urbane needing those extra 1 or 2 lunch-hour martinis.

Yet, more than that, drug abuse and narcotic addiction are major and growing public health problems of major national concern. As of December 31, 1968, the number of active narcotic addicts reported by the U.S. Bureau of Narcotics was approximately 64,000 and estimates of the true number of addicts are appreciably higher and on the

vious that the Nixon administration is probably faced with that most dreaded, unpredictable and unstable element that can be found in a foreign adversary: madness.

There seems no other word for it. The phenomenon is an extreme rarity in international power politics. Adolf Hitler himself, though his eventual conduct in World War II slid toward the irrational and earned him the wonderfully expressive German term *Teppichfresser*—carpet chewer—at least had attempted to weigh the risks before striking at Poland in 1939. "What now?" snarled Der Fuehrer at his Foreign Minister, Joachim von Ribbentrop, when Britain's unexpected ultimatum to Germany to withdraw from Poland, meaning a general European war, was presented to him.

Of all Communist-power dictators today, it now seems that Kim Il-Sung, Premier of North Korea, can truly be termed at the very least unstable, and some observers even contend he has become more paranoid than Stalin at his very worst. There is no comparable parallel in any other country. Not beyond the grim towers of the Kremlin, and not even in Peking, where an old man watches the shadows lengthen across Tien An Men Gate and dreams of the days of the Long March, and the comradeship of the Caves of Yenan.

Like Mao, in Red China, and Ho, in North Vietnam, Kim has been a dominant figure in his own country for 20 years. However, unlike Mao and Ho, he did not capture power on his own. His role in liberation of Korea from Japan was nil. Only with solid backing of the Soviet occupation forces was he able to rise to power. His rivals—actual and potential—have been methodically eliminated by purges, assassination, or execution. He has tried to gain greater stature in the eyes of North Koreans by masquerading under the name of a legendary national hero but this patent sham has probably been more of a liability than an asset.

He has developed a personality cult that would embarrass Mao Tse-tung. History has been completely twisted and falsified to glorify Kim. The last few years have seen an increase in this cult and statements about him in North Korea today are written in a purple prose style that would shame the most servile Soviet writer of Stalin's heyday.

So, madness—madness generated by bitterness and resentment from what Kim feels was desertion and sellout by his Red Chinese and Soviet allies at the end of the Korean war.

Madness—as Ho Chi Minh gets headlines, acclaim and aid, and North Korea's lone pleas for help from Peking and Moscow are brushed aside.

Madness—as 56,000 American troops back up the Korean Army across the 38th Parallel.

Madness—as one attempt after another to send agents into South Korea for espionage, terror, and subversion go down to defeat when faced with the deadly combination of the highly efficient South Korean Intelligence Service and the Red-hating South Korean citizens.

Madness—with nothing to save his face, nothing to save his scored and bruised ego except the periodic meetings at Panmunjom, where his officers carry on their strutting farce of insults directed at U.S. representatives.

So—a way out, of sorts—provoke the United States, possibly into attack, or at least pull a feather or two from the American eagle's tail, and draw world attention to himself once again. Thus it was with *Pueblo*. I said at the time it was a shameful and unforgivable thing to have inflicted on the American Republic, and no less so is the incident of the EC-121.

I do think, however, that the last man on one of these missions has been lost. There are some highly significant and major differences between what was done after *Pueblo* and what has been done after the reconnaissance plane was shot down.

For instance, after *Pueblo*, it was decided in 1968 not to arm spy ships because it would be "provocative." I quote, here, from former Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara, appearing on "Meet the Press," February 4, 1968. The statement had just been made to him that—

There are many Americans who are greatly disturbed that a ship as important as the *Pueblo* could be captured so easily. Why wasn't it better protected?

The Secretary's answer was as follows:

First, to have protected it would have been a provocative act. Second, it would have compromised the mission. . . . And, finally, the protection itself always runs the risk of leading to military escalation. . . . Nor do we protect aircraft on similar kinds. You will remember that we lost an RB-47 shot down by the Soviets on a mission similar to this in 1960. It was unprotected. Neither then nor now do we protect it for the reasons I've outlined.

Now, let us look at President Nixon's statement on April 18, 1969, in response to a question about U.S. reaction to the EC-121:

There are 56,000 American troops stationed in South Korea . . . the responsibility of the President of the United States as Commander in Chief . . . It is the responsibility of the Commander in Chief to protect the security of those men. . . . What do we do about these flights in the future? They were discontinued immediately after this incident occurred. I have today ordered that these flights be continued. They will be protected. This is not a threat. It is simply a statement of fact.

As the Commander in Chief of our armed forces, I cannot and will not ask our men to serve in Korea, and I cannot and will not ask our men to take flights like this in unarmed planes without providing protection. That will be the case. . . . when planes of the United States or ships of the United States in intelligence gathering are in international waters or international air space they are not fair game. They will not be in the future and I state that as a matter of fact.

I find a considerable difference in response—and also in what the President as Commander in Chief sees as his obligation and responsibility to men in uniform who must be sent out on dangerous assignments.

To underscore the fact that fear of "provoking" our enemies is not a part of

the foreign policy of this administration, and that "protection" means exactly that—and something more besides—what is believed to be the largest concentration of American seapower in that area since the Korean war has been assembled in the Sea of Japan. Task Force 71, consisting of three attack carriers, one antisubmarine carrier, three cruisers and 14 destroyers, has almost 300 jet fighters and fighter-bombers, plus considerable missile and antisub ability.

I am sure the fact is not lost on Kim Il-Sung that Task Force 71 is not only quite well prepared to protect our intelligence missions, but it also carries the potential for direct retaliatory raids against North Korea itself.

President Theodore Roosevelt said:
 Speak softly and carry a big stick.

President Nixon has spoken—softly—but the big stick has been hauled out of the closet, dusted off, swung once or twice for heft, and laid close at hand.

Can even Kim Il-Sung be that mad? If he is, the big stick is ready—and we can argue about map coordinates afterwards.

THE PROBLEM OF UNCONTAINED POPULATION GROWTH AND THE NATURAL ENVIRONMENT

(Mr. UDALL asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, the 1960's comprise the decade in which the U.S. Government became deeply involved in what has now been generally recognized as one of the world's most severe problems, that of uncontained population growth.

Four years of hearings on the problem, conducted by former Senator Ernest Gruening, of Alaska, have served to bring the controversial subject of population control, once off limits to public discussion, into the light of legitimate and open debate. The late Presidents Eisenhower and Kennedy both expressed their concern. Former President Johnson said:

Second only to the search for peace, it is humanity's greatest challenge.

As a result, the U.S. Government, through its National Institutes of Health, has a growing program of research in reproductive physiology and contraception. The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, the Department of State, and the Office of Economic Opportunity administer or support programs of voluntary family planning.

However, I wonder if we as a government are doing enough in the field. As we look around us, we see tremendous, truly staggering divisions, strife, conflict and conditions which, I believe, are related if not directly caused by uncontained population.

We are told by some experts that there is nothing that can be done to prevent widespread famine in Asia within the next decade—that the children are already born who will face starvation in the next few years. Although others tell us that a "green revolution" now under-

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Few, if any, of these Federal programs help the railroads. In fact, some of these programs increase the railroads' difficulties in competing with other forms of transportation. All in all, the Federal government today is pursuing a variety of programs, designed to regulate, subsidize and promote various forms of transportation, and it spends billions of the taxpayers' dollars doing it—or trying to do it.

But despite the advent of the Department of Transportation, there is insufficient coordination among these programs. Some modes of transportation, for example, are regulated and some are not. Some forms are subsidized and some are not. The fortunes of some kinds of transportation are promoted effectively and some are not. There is constant competition for the tax dollar. There are inequities in the size and kind of subsidies accorded different carriers. The component parts of the system are not developed as a whole. The public is not served to the extent it might be because of this patchwork of regulations and subsidies which help to prevent the development of the best in each transportation system.

To administer these highway, airway, waterway and a variety of other programs, a number of Federal agencies had, over the years, sprung up. None was concerned with the needs of the other. Each had its own promotional job to do. Each tended to serve as special counsel and advocate for its own kind of transportation.

The more the public pays in subsidies, real and hidden, the more confused the objectives have seemed to be. The job of the Department of Transportation, it seems to me, is to rationalize these differences. As yet, this concept has not taken hold.

We must develop a coherent and modern system out of the present unstable conglomerate of diverse and unrelated transportation systems. Only in a coherent framework can the development of a truly rational transportation policy result—a framework in which we will be able to keep all our transportation systems in balance and capable of functioning effectively.

To these general observations, I would add a few specific suggestions:

1. We can never fully develop a coherent transportation policy and system until we decide who pays for it and how; to what extent should public subsidies be involved, and how evenhandedly can they be administered. We continue to find policies affecting the waterways being developed without sufficient regard to the impact they will have on the railroads. We find charges for airport use totally unrelated to plant costs for other modes of transportation. Who supports Friendship airport? The State of Maryland, the Federal government and to an extent, the airlines. Who supports Union Station? The railroads who use it.

2. We cannot expect prompt and easy solutions when the directives given the Department of Transportation by Congress do not constitute a clear signal or provide an open track. In the first years of the Department there has been too much reliance on the very existence of the Department itself—as though our national transportation problems would just blow away because there is a new agency in being. Clearly, change will not come about merely because old agencies have been reshuffled into new.

3. As has been demonstrated time and time again in other fields, federal money alone is not the answer. The Urban Mass Transportation Act is an appropriate example. The law provides Federal financial assistance to improve mass transit systems—bus and rail—in our cities. Congress would have been more effective had we gotten down to the hard economic facts of life, stripping all Federal benefits from the equation and determining the true costs of providing essential services. Had Congress insisted on this course—not

just for mass transit, but for all transportation programs—we might have avoided our present situation. Designed as a program responsive to an urgent urban need—with appropriate recognition that the transit fare box alone cannot support and revive a deteriorating system—this Act of Congress has too often had the opposite effect on the fate of local transit systems from its intentions. Too often private transit companies have tended to hang onto their fading properties without any effort at improvement whatsoever. They have done so in the hope that a quick infusion of Federal funds would encourage city government to bail them out by purchasing the private transit lines for public ownership. Meanwhile, back at City Hall the decision-makers were making no such commitments because the promise of Federal was just that—there aren't really enough funds to go around to reinvigorate on any broad basis the transit system.

4. Federal policy has not given sufficient attention to new ownership concepts in the field of transportation. I am aware of one well-run railroad in another section of America which was making excellent strides in improving the quality of its service until it was swallowed up in a larger business conglomerate. The rail service has, I am informed, been on the downgrade since. Other perhaps more profitable enterprises of the conglomerate have come to the fore. Rather than this form of transportation integration more thought should be given to the development of transportation modes to get the job done at less cost to the consumer public and the taxpayer. We ought to at least consider effective transportation integration rather than isolating transportation ownership through the present separate and strictly competitive instruments—rails, trucks, air and the waterways.

My remarks are not a criticism of a vibrant and successful segment of our free enterprise economy. The federal government has, for better or worse, a large stake in the system. All of us in Washington, and particularly in the Congress, have a special obligation to see to it that the contributions that the Federal government makes to the system work—and work well.

TOUR STUDYING PROBLEMS OF BOSTON

(Mr. GUDE asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. GUDE. Mr. Speaker, last weekend, along with 10 of my colleagues, I had the opportunity to visit for 2 days and a night in the city of Boston to study and observe the problems of that metropolitan area and the efforts of Mayor Kevin White and his cabinet to cope with the enormously big-city problems. There is much to see and to learn on the visits to the cities sponsored by the Conference of Mayors but I would in particular like to call attention to two aspects of government which I observed on this tour which are particularly significant.

First, I, and also, I believe some of my colleagues were particularly impressed by the efforts to decentralize and to set up "little city halls" in various areas of the city. These institutions are not conceived just as "complaint bureaus" for the citizens but are the beginning of an effort to decentralize actual operation of certain city services to bring them close to the citizenry. I am convinced the beginning effort here in Washington last October as well as those in Boston should

be pushed—the trend of the thirties to use big city hall consolidation to solve metropolitan problems has a blighting effect on the role of democratic representative institutions in the problem-solving process.

Second, I was particularly impressed by what seemed to be the deep interest and involvement of so many of Boston's citizens in the process of finding solutions to their city's problems. Boston's democratic roots go deep and among certain groups involvement in government and politics is as natural as eating and sleeping. In contrast, the District of Columbia is particularly devoid of citizen tradition or structure for democratic institutions. The history of so many of Washington's citizens is lacking of a heritage of citizen participation in the democratic process.

I am convinced that the establishment of voting representation in Congress will go a long way toward developing a structure of involvement in the democratic process which is so essential if city citizens are to work together to find solutions to the problems of their metropolitan areas.

For these reasons, the establishment of voting representation for the District of Columbia is a top priority measure for the 91st Congress.

NORTH KOREA'S MADNESS—NIXON'S "BIG STICK"

(Mr. BRAY asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, North Korea has once again drawn attention to itself and the following two statements by persons who should know more than the rest of us about that country are pertinent.

Comdr. Lloyd Bucher, skipper of the U.S.S. *Pueblo*, in testimony before the Navy court of inquiry, March 10, 1969:

I watched them pull legs off baby birds which fell out of a nest . . . they would find a toad and spit him apart by pulling out his legs . . . this was common practice . . . they are just basically cruel and brutal savages . . . there were a few pups around the prison compound. I never once saw the Koreans pass one of those dogs without kicking him. This is just their mentality . . . just the way they are brought up.

Prof. B. C. Koh, South Korean by birth and now associate professor of political science, University of Illinois:

No nation is too small to threaten the peace and security of the entire world community. In North Korea's case, moreover, its smallness is dangerously deceptive. Not only does it boast a well-trained Soviet-equipped army of over 350,000 men, 500 Soviet-made jet aircraft, modern air-defense missile complexes, and a militia of 1.2 million men and women. It is also ruled by a Stalinist dictator whose fanatical dedication to revolutionary objectives is surpassed only by his brash audacity in seeking to carry them out in the face of all obstacles. North Korea has a past record of strident belligerency, coupled with a seemingly inexhaustible potential for precipitating international crisis.

The *Pueblo* in 1968; an EC-121 in 1969; considering the two incidents and the two statements above, it seems ob-

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Consistent with my position that the present law has been interpreted too narrowly, I am introducing a bill today that would provide a second chance to those young men who have been opposed to participation in the Vietnam war and yet have been forced into the heartrending dilemma of service in a war they oppose or prison or flight from the country.

By second chance, I mean giving a young man the opportunity now to offer information to his local board in substantiation of his claim to exemption from military service provided he was conscientiously opposed to participation in a particular war at the time he received a notice to report for induction or at the time he left a jurisdiction to evade military service.

It should be understood that any claim to exemption which is granted, would require the young man to perform non-combatant service in the Armed Forces or an acceptable form of alternative civilian service as that now performed by traditional conscientious objectors.

My bill would give a second chance to: First. Any young man who received a notice to report for induction into the Armed Forces prior to the date of enactment of the legislation whether he is already in the Armed Forces or not;

Second. Any young man who left a jurisdiction prior to the date of enactment of the legislation with intent to avoid prosecution for refusing or evading service and who returns to such jurisdiction;

Third. Any young man who is being prosecuted or has been convicted for refusing or evading service; and

Fourth. Any young man in the Armed Forces who is being prosecuted or has been convicted for acts arising out of a nonviolent refusal or evasion of continued service.

It is provided that the grant or improper denial of a claim to exemption made pursuant to the new law shall be a defense to a prosecution for refusing or evading service and shall be a ground for permanent release from prison.

Although most young men reached by my legislation may find it difficult to demonstrate their motivation for claiming exemption, they should have the chance.

As I have called upon the President to act, I now respectfully beseech the Congress to take a major step in bringing this country together again. Let us give those who have exiled themselves or gone to jail out of conscience the opportunity of coming back into the mainstream of American life.

GUNS ON CAMPUS

(Mr. ROBISON asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend his remarks and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. ROBISON. Mr. Speaker, as the Representative for the Cornell University community in this body, and as an alumnus of that great institution, I have, of course, been deeply concerned over the recent events that have been taking place and are still taking place on that campus.

As we have all noted, and as the New York Times commented on yesterday:

Arms have been introduced into the campus controversy at Cornell, and only blindness to the lessons of history can shut out the fundamental nature of the threat that development poses.

Mr. Speaker, it is precisely true, as the Times went on to note:

This threat is doubly frightening because it arose on a campus whose liberal administration has carefully listened to, and even anticipated, legitimate demands for student and faculty participation in campus administration.

Mr. Speaker, I will include the full text of the Times editorial with my remarks, but I would like to summarize my own thoughts about this situation by quoting the last two paragraphs therefrom for the consideration of my colleagues:

If agreements extorted under duress are to be honored by campus authorities, the American university is embarked on a course of self-destruction, not self-government. American society has borne violence as a heavy cross through all its history; it is the university's task to lead the way toward eliminating violence.

Cornell's ability to enforce its ban not only on guns but on all forms of coercion will be a crucial indicator of the intellectual community's capacity to remain a key element in perpetuating both the free competition of ideas and democratic rule itself.

The complete Times editorial is as follows:

GUNS ON CAMPUS

The academic world was aghast early in the 1930's when pictures of academic convocations in German universities featured jack-booted students with daggers and sidearms. Some observers, to be sure, explained the whole development away as a temporary aberration—the unfortunate but excusable reaction of concerned youths to social injustice in a country ground down by an oppressive peace treaty. Most educators, however, needed no further confirmation that the bell had tolled for German universities and for freedom.

Now arms have been introduced into the campus controversy at Cornell, and only blindness to the lessons of history can shut out the fundamental nature of the threat that development poses. The threat is doubly frightening because it arose on a campus whose liberal administration has carefully listened to, and even anticipated, legitimate demands for student and faculty participation in campus administration.

Unquestionably, the black students at Cornell have had to contend with suspicion and even hostility on the part of some whites. But it is also true that black militants—separate from, yet in many ways parallel to, the white radicals of the New Left—have undermined the extensive administrative and judicial reforms, first by refusing to serve on joint discipline committees, then by challenging their legitimacy.

The issue here is clearly not one of administrative unresponsiveness. The university's aim has been to prove that reason and the rule of law can make the students full partners in self-government built on non-violent progress and mutual consent.

All these expectations lie shattered—victim of an intolerable display of coercion at gunpoint. To avert a slaughter, the university has had to surrender to the demands of armed insurgents. This is the lugubrious end of a line that has run from Berkeley through Columbia and Harvard and San Francisco State and dozens of other campuses—a line that rests on the use of illegal force to cow the majority into submission.

If agreements extorted under duress are to be honored by campus authorities, the American university is embarked on a course of self-destruction, not self-government. American society has borne violence as a heavy cross through all its history; it is the university's task to lead the way toward eliminating violence.

Cornell's ability to enforce its ban not only on guns but on all forms of coercion will be a crucial indicator of the intellectual community's capacity to remain a key element in perpetuating both the free competition of ideas and democratic rule itself.

NEED FOR A NATIONAL TRANSPORTATION POLICY—SPEECH OF SENATOR CHARLES MCC. MATHIAS

(Mr. BEALL of Maryland asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend his remarks and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. BEALL of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, efficient nationwide transportation systems are essential to our national economic health and growth. Through the years, the Federal Government has become involved in supporting, to a greater or lesser extent, many different forms of land, water, and air transportation. However, these efforts are too often fragmented, uncoordinated, and even contradictory.

In a speech to the better service conference of the C. & O. B. & O. Railroad at Cumberland, Md., on April 12, Senator CHARLES MCC. MATHIAS, Jr., outlined the need for a coherent national transportation policy and summarized some of the important questions which should be considered in shaping such overall policy. Senator MATHIAS' observations and suggestions deserve wide attention, and I would like to include the text of his speech in the Record at this point:

ADDRESS BY SENATOR MATHIAS

In his last budget message as President, the late Dwight D. Eisenhower endorsed a Commerce Department recommendation for a Department of Transportation with these words:

"National transportation is presently out of balance. It is less a national system than a loose grouping of individual industries. We have built vast networks of highways, railways, inland waterways and seaports, airways and airports, and pipelines with little attention to conflict among these expanding networks."

Since those words, we have had that Department of Transportation in being. Is it working to minimize the kind of conflicts to which Dwight Eisenhower addressed himself? Is it a success?

First, I believe that the new Department, like anything new in Washington takes time to shake down. Certainly, the new Secretary, John Volpe, has not had his hand on the tiller long enough to measure his course.

Today the Federal government expends billions of dollars in the construction of highway programs, from farm-to-market roads to giant highways of the inter-state system linking all our major cities. The government promotes airport construction and has prime responsibility for air navigation. It dredges and develops our rivers and harbors and after it spends hundreds of millions of dollars in these programs, it spends additional hundreds of millions to maintain these port facilities. It administers airline and Merchant Marine subsidies.

STRENGTH AND RATIO COMPARISONS

	On board strength as of Jan. 31, 1969			
	U.S. Marine Corps	U.S. Army	U.S. Navy	U.S. Air Force
Officer.....	24,927	170,720	85,800	136,576
Enlisted.....	289,168	1,304,840	655,334	736,135
Total.....	314,095	1,475,560	741,134	872,711
4-star officers.....	1	17	8	13
Ratios:				
4-star to active generals.....	1:75	1:29	1:38	1:33
4-star to total strength.....	1:314,000	1:86,800	1:92,600	1:67,100

FISCAL DATA

According to the testimony, the pay and allowances increases from the grade of lieutenant general to the four-star grade will be \$4,800 per annum.

THE FIRST 90 DAYS

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, in response to a request from the Associated Press, last week, to give our impression of the first 90 days of the Nixon administration, the distinguished assistant majority leader, the senior Senator from Massachusetts (Mr. KENNEDY), and I issued a statement. We ask unanimous consent that this statement, with reference to the first 90 days of the Nixon administration, as seen from our point of view, be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE FIRST 90 DAYS

The first 90 days of the administration of President Nixon are over. So, too, is the calm which has characterized them. If a signal of the end is needed it is to be found in the tragedy of the intelligence-reconnaissance plane off North Korea. From now on, crises both at home and abroad are likely to crowd in upon the nation.

These initial months have enabled the President to prepare for what lies ahead and he has used the time well. His highly successful trip abroad, for example, brought him into friendly contact with heads-of-state with whom he will be dealing in the years ahead. Relations with France have been placed on a better plane and at the same time diplomatic contact with Cambodia is now being reestablished. At home, the President has proceeded at a deliberate pace to fill out the hierarchy of his administration with men of his own choosing and to work out changes in the budget of the previous Administration. All in all, the first 90 days of President Nixon have been marked by care, caution, and competence.

The evolution of the new administration now moves from the opening phase to the follow-through. During the months ahead will come proposals, policies and programs which clearly carry the President's imprimatur. They will be needed to deal with the problem of Viet Nam as well as the intensifying issues of inequitable and heavy taxation and inflation. These problems along with a host of other difficulties await the President's initiatives.

What also remains to be seen is whether the President can gain control over the far-flung activities of the military and civilian wings of the government. From administration to administration, the Executive Branch has grown into an administrative enormity. Unless President Nixon is able to devise means for grasping control of the continuing machinery of government for which, in any event, he has the responsibility, the tragedy off North Korea will be but the beginning of his difficulties.

THE NORTH KOREAN AIR ATTACK

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, I applaud President Nixon's wisdom and firmness in dealing with the outrageous but typical action of North Korea in attacking one of our unarmed reconnaissance aircraft over international waters. Our people are capable of a mighty rage and indignation at wanton killing, and there has been a proper outpouring of these reactions in recent days. The response of our Government, however, must at the same time be that of a powerful nation whose very strength in the community of nations lies in the self-imposed restraint in dealing with smaller countries, however demented and belligerent they are. We will show that we will not be deterred from our policies and our mission by ugly deeds, but we will not be drawn into war by a small, criminal state intent on destruction of all for their own ends; either.

Mr. President, there are two national security needs which must be kept uppermost in mind when considering response to the North Korean attack and the tragic loss of 31 men, and President Nixon kept these needs very much in mind.

One is the continuing need for the very kind of intelligence that such aircraft as the EC-121 can gather. Intelligence is the closest thing to casualty insurance against war; the more coverage we have the less likely we will need it in global conflict. It is intelligence which permits us to meet the aggression of a North Korea before they reignite the Korean war—a threat which is renewed from time to time by that irresponsible government. It is intelligence which helps America to secure the lid before it blows off, all over the rim of the boiling pots in Asia and elsewhere. If we are to continue gathering this intelligence, we must protect those who gather it, and in that context, the movement of the naval task force to the sea off Korea is eminently justified.

The other need which the President kept in mind is that of meeting North Korea's test of our will and the nature of our response. We have shown that we have the will to continue actions which we feel our national security and peace in the world demand. Such a demonstration of will is most especially required when dealing with a government such as North Korea, which has virtually no respect for decent relations between governments, but resorts to brutality with a morbid fascination unmatched in the world.

I submit that this crisis has been handled very well by a new administration. Our Government has been tested and found strong, but not headstrong;

intelligent, but not tangled in intellectual indecision. I am saddened by the tragic attack, but heartened by the response of President Nixon to see that it is not repeated.

PRESIDENT NIXON'S HANDLING OF THE KOREAN AIR ATTACK INCIDENT

Mr. STEVENS. Mr. President, I am proud to join my colleagues in commending President Nixon for his statesmanlike handling of the recent crisis with Korea.

The destruction of an unarmed aircraft by the North Koreans is a striking example of irrational conduct. The United States, under President Nixon's leadership, has responded to their action in a totally rational manner. This is the mark of a great power, and the President's decision to act with restraint is the mark of a great President.

As the North Koreans so ably proved, it takes little thought or sensitivity to murder. We could have responded in kind. We cannot help but feel a helpless rage at such occurrences; that is a natural thing. But, as the leader of our Nation, President Nixon's example to other nations has been an excellent one.

In the discussion and debate that followed the loss of the aircraft, I have heard the North Koreans termed a "fourth-rate power." The stature of a nation may not lie in its military power, but rather in its ability to conduct itself and its affairs in a civilized and rational manner. In this incident, the North Korean Government has clearly cast itself in the role of a fourth-rate power.

Quite sensibly, President Nixon has instructed our defense people to continue surveillance of North Korean activities—in the free international zone of air travel—but with armed escort. As a former pilot of unarmed aircraft, I know what that means. It means simply that the pilots and crews of these flights will have a "fighting chance"—no American ever asked for more than that as he carried out his Commander in Chief's instructions. I, for one, hope that this meaningful change in policy will not go unnoticed in North Korea.

REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA SUGAR QUOTA SHOULD BE ABOLISHED

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. Mr. President, among the nations of the world, the Republic of South Africa has the tragic distinction of being the only country whose legal and social structure is frankly and aggressively based on racial discrimination. The black majority of that nation has been systematically brutalized by the vicious policies of apartheid. The oppression of black citizens of South Africa by the white minority is a stain on the conscience of the free world.

Frankly, we in the United States have much to atone for and to correct in the treatment of our 20 million fellow Americans who are black. However, we have made great strides toward eliminating discrimination in our legal structure and in assuring all Americans the rights guaranteed them in the Constitution of the United States. We are also making

Latter-day Saints formally known as the Young Women's Mutual Improvement Association (YWMIA) was organized November 28, 1869 and this year marks its centennial anniversary to be commemorated by church congregations throughout the world; and

Whereas the YWMIA enriched and improved the lives of hundreds of thousands of young women during the past century through organized programs of dance, drama, music, speech, sport, camping, home-making, and spiritual counsel; and

Whereas the YWMIA has made an invaluable contribution in preparing young women to make meaningful contributions to their families, their communities and their church; and

Whereas the highlight of the YWMIA Centennial will be the Annual MIA World Conference June 27, 28 and 29 at Salt Lake City, Utah; be it

Resolved, That the United States Senate pays tribute to this fine organization and commends it for the contributions it makes to the youth of its sponsoring organization and to the Nation itself, by helping to develop wholesome, well adjusted talented young women with high personal ideals and devotion to God and country.

APPOINTMENT OF ADDITIONAL DISTRICT JUDGES—AMENDMENT

AMENDMENT NO. 12

Mr. BAKER proposed an amendment intended to be proposed by him, to the bill (S. 952) to provide for the appointment of additional district judges, and for other purposes, which was ordered to be printed and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE GREAT PRAIRIE LAKES NATIONAL RECREATION AREA—AMENDMENT

AMENDMENT NO. 13

Mr. BURDICK proposed an amendment intended to be proposed by him, to the bill (S. 248) to establish the Great Prairie Lakes National Recreation Area in the States of South Dakota, North Dakota, and Nebraska, and for other purposes, which was ordered to be printed and referred to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

NOTICE OF HEARINGS ON THE FAIR CREDIT REPORTING ACT

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, I wish to announce that the Subcommittee on Financial Institutions of the Committee on Banking and Currency will hold hearings on S. 823, a bill to enable consumers to protect themselves against arbitrary, erroneous, and malicious credit information.

The hearings will be held on Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday, May 19, 20, and 21, 1969, and will begin at 10 a.m. in room 5302, New Senate Office Building.

Persons desiring to testify or to submit written statements in connection with these hearings should notify Mr. Kenneth A. McLean, room 5300, New Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C., 20510; Telephone 225-7391.

NOTICE OF HEARINGS ON ELECTORAL REFORM

Mr. BAYH. Mr. President, the Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Amendments will conclude its hearings on electoral reform with 3 days of hearings. These hearings will be held on April 30, May 1 and 2. The hearing on April 30, will be in room 324, Senate Office Building, while the hearings on May 1 and 2 will be held in G-308, auditorium of the New Senate Office Building. The hearings will begin at 10 a.m. each day. Persons having questions regarding the hearings are invited to contact the subcommittee staff in room 419 of the Senate Office Building, extension 3018.

NOTICE CONCERNING NOMINATIONS BEFORE THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, the following nominations have been referred to and are now pending before the Committee on the Judiciary:

Louis C. Bechtel, of Pennsylvania, to be U.S. attorney for the eastern district of Pennsylvania for the term of 4 years, vice Drew J. T. O'Keefe, resigning.

Bill Carnes Murray, of Georgia, to U.S. marshal for the northern district of Georgia for the term of 4 years, vice Elmer J. Hardegree.

George J. Reed, of Oregon, to be a member of the Board of Parole for the term expiring September 30, 1974.

F. L. Peter Stone, of Delaware, to be U.S. attorney for the district of Delaware for the term of 4 years, vice Alexander Greenfield.

On behalf of the Committee on the Judiciary, notice is hereby given to all persons interested in these nominations to file with the committee, in writing, on or before Tuesday, April 29, 1969, any representations or objections they may wish to present concerning the above nominations, with a further statement whether it is their intention to appear at any hearing which may be scheduled.

THE GRADE OF GENERAL FOR THE ASSISTANT COMMANDANT OF THE MARINE CORPS

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the consideration of Calendar No. 119, H.R. 3832.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The bill will be stated by title.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. A bill (H.R. 3832) to amend title 10, United States Code, to provide the grade of general for the Assistant Commandant of the Marine Corps when the total active strength of the Marine Corps exceeds 200,000.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

There being no objection, the bill was considered, ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an excerpt from the report (No. 91-130), explaining the purposes of the bill.

There being no objection, the excerpt was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PURPOSE OF THE BILL

This bill is designed to establish the grade of general for the Assistant Commandant of the Marine Corps, at the discretion of the President, with the advice and consent of the Senate, when the personnel strength of the corps exceeds 200,000. The bill also provides that when the active duty strength drops below this figure after an officer has been appointed to the Office of Assistant Commandant and to the grade of general, he will retain the grade so long as he retains the office. However, his successor will not be eligible for the grade of general until the strength again exceeds 200,000.

JUSTIFICATION

At the present time, the Marine Corps is authorized one officer in the grade of general—its Commandant. Marine Corps officers designated for appropriate higher commands or performance of duty of great importance and responsibility are limited by law to the grade of lieutenant general, unless they are assigned as Chief of Staff to the President or Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. This legal limitation was enacted in 1947 and since that time there have been many changes in the Marine Corps which have impacted on the office of the Commandant and his principal assistant.

The size of the Marine Corps in 1947 was 93,000—today its size is 314,000. In 1947 the number of marines serving overseas was 19,000, but today there are 101,000 marines serving overseas, including 82,000 in Vietnam. In 1947 the Commandant was not authorized to sit as a member of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Today the Commandant sits with the Joint Chiefs of Staff whenever matters directly concerning the Marine Corps are under consideration. The magnitude of these changes alone has enlarged the scope and complexity of the responsibilities of the Commandant, and this, in turn, has greatly expanded the responsibilities of his principal assistant.

The Assistant Commandant represents the Marine Corps at meetings of the Joint Chiefs of Staff whenever the Commandant is unavailable. The Vice Chiefs of Staff of the other services, whose positions are almost identical to that of the Assistant Commandant, hold the rank of general, or its equivalent, while the Assistant Commandant holds the rank of lieutenant general.

It is the opinion of the Committee on Armed Services that the Assistant Commandant should enjoy a status comparable to his counterparts. At the present time the Commandant of the Marine Corps is the only four-star general officer in the Corps.

In addition, the substantial growth in the Marine Corps has had a significant effect upon the responsibilities exercised by the Assistant Commandant, who must give close supervision to the ever-increasing number of personnel, weapons systems, programs, and operations with which the Marine Corps is involved.

A comparison of the ratio of four-star general and flag officers to total strength in the Army, Navy, and Air Force, reveals that the Marine Corps is substantially below the other services. The strength and ratio comparisons as of January 31, 1969, are shown below:

April 22, 1969

moral outrage, of social justice, of human compassion.

But, as the President cannot evade his responsibility to lead, neither can the Democratic Party refuse to take its stand on the great moral issues of our time.

Toward making equity real in our society, America has made proud and measurable progress in recent years—frequently with strong bipartisan support in the Congress. From the advances we have already made, we will now either advance further or retreat; we cannot stay where we are. We shall watch to see in what direction President Nixon will now attempt to lead us—or whether he will lead.

But, so long as the Democratic Party remains a vital influence on the national scene, there shall be no retreat.

The Democratic Party must move—and we are moving—to get our own house in order so that we may be prepared to do our duty.

We will allow no retreat on the issue of race and human equality.

We are concerned about the lack of clarity with which this Administration acts and moves on this, the most fundamental matter of equity in America—on social and economic equality for black people, for American Indians, for Spanish speaking Americans and other minority groups. There must be no retreat from the elementary and basic gains we have made in recent years, and we must not permit administrative neglect or half-hearted enforcement to slow the march forward.

We are disturbed by the reported advice of the newly appointed general counsel in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare concerning relaxed desegregation guidelines, advice which seems at variance with the statements of Secretary Finch. We are concerned about the actions of the Department of Defense in awarding contracts without requirement of full civil rights compliance. We puzzle over how these actions and the circumstances of Clifford Alexander's resignation as Chairman of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission can co-exist with Administration assurances of continued progress toward full equality.

President Nixon, we feel, must soon end this confusion; he must soon clearly choose between right and wrong on the moral issue of race. He cannot satisfy both sides, for only one of them is right.

We must allow no retreat on the issue of poverty. There must be no retreat from the determined march we have begun against inferior education and training, the lack of decent jobs, the bad housing, and the poor health and malnutrition which prevent millions of Americans from having a real chance to attain equity in their lives.

We are disturbed by the announced plans to cut back on summer Head Start funds, to turn youngsters out of closed-down Job Corps centers, to retrench on financing of health research and health delivery, and the refusal to pay the pitifully small price to do away with hunger.

These positions of the Nixon Administration seem dreadfully inconsistent with its announced intention to offer new approaches on the terrible urban and other domestic problems which daily grow more difficult.

A nation which can increase its real production by some \$40 billion a year, which is the richest and most medically knowledgeable, most agriculturally productive country in the world, cannot escape the moral burden of continued poverty, when, as the 1968 Democratic Platform makes so clear, "For the first time in the history of the world, it is within the power of a nation to eradicate . . . the age-old curse of poverty."

President Nixon, we feel, must soon strike out on some clear course; he must soon clearly choose between right and wrong on the moral issue of poverty and hunger. He cannot satisfy both sides, for only one of them is right.

We shall not dwell upon President Nixon's campaign pledge to end the surcharge tax, for we know that election often makes wiser men of former candidates. But there must be no retreat from the resolute march toward fairness and equity in our tax system. Throughout America, taxpayers are increasingly outraged by a system which is regressive in its overburdening of those of lower and middle income, while allowing many of the rich to escape their fair share of Government costs.

We are concerned about this Administration's delay in presentation of its promised tax reform position, disturbed by those things which are reported to be left out of these recommendations to be announced.

President Nixon must soon break this silence. He must soon clearly choose between right and wrong on the moral issue of equity and fairness. He cannot satisfy both sides, for only one of them is right.

There must be no retreat from the long march toward peace. We shall not dwell upon President Nixon's campaign announcement of an undisclosed plan to end the war in Viet Nam. But we shall declare our concern that private peace talks, underway before his election, have only now begun again. We must declare our firm, continuing desire for a systematic de-Americanization of that war, for real progress toward South Vietnamese assumption of greater military responsibility and institution of real and lasting political, social and economic reform.

We are disturbed by the rhetoric of Secretary Laird, who spoke of "military victory" upon his visit to Viet Nam and by his confusing and disappointing public statements against withdrawal of any American troops from that area during 1969.

We are deeply worried by the growing militarization in America and by the continued delay in sitting down with the Soviet Union to discuss a lessening of arms race tensions. Deeper than the technical questions of whether an ABM system will work are questions concerning the triggering of further escalations in the race for armaments advantage and the sobering question of the direction America will go, the priorities it will establish for itself in the next decade.

President Nixon's decision to scrap the Sentinel Missile System and then to advocate a somewhat curtailed Safeguard system, backed up by varying arguments, seemed to be more political than military in its apparent attempt to do a little for each side of the argument.

President Nixon must soon make the hard decisions on the moral questions of war and peace. He cannot satisfy both sides, for only one of them is right.

We do not expect or insist that President Nixon meet and solve these issues within one hundred days or any other arbitrary period. We do insist that he address himself and his administration to these issues. For they must be met. And the people of America must soon be called to the task—in clear tones, in firm voice.

We shall not make partisan capital of these solemn causes. But we shall ask this Administration to lead, and we shall offer our own solutions.

The late Robert F. Kennedy was fond of quoting Tennyson's Ulysses:

"One equal temper of heroes' hearts
Made weak by time and fate, but strong in will
To strive, to seek, to find, and not to yield."

The Democratic Party will continue to be entitled to lead the United States of America to the degree it continues to strive, to seek and not to yield—to the degree it speaks to the changed problems of our day, to the moral issues of our time, in terms which are meaningful and relevant to our lives and to the lives of our children.

For a time, we Americans may be tempted to rest on our record, to count the comfort-

ing beads of past progress, to recite the American litany of success, to turn our face away from the winds of change. But those winds blow more fiercely than ever in 1969. And the sounds we hear are not a call to retreat, but the trumpeting summons to advance toward individual dignity and self-determination, for equity, for an end to war and for the first steps toward that world peace which can yet be ours.

Those sounds will not be stilled by a call for silence.

Because the Democratic Party does hear those sounds and because we will and must respond to them, I believe that we shall be returned to leadership and—more importantly—to responsibility.

WATER AND INTEREST RATES

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, the Commercial Appeal, of Memphis, Tenn., published a very interesting editorial on April 1, 1969, entitled, "Water and Interest Rates." It refers to the excellent proposal made by the senior Senator from South Dakota (Mr. Mundt).

I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

[From the Memphis (Tenn.) Commercial Appeal, Apr. 1, 1969]

WATER AND INTEREST RATES

When interest rates began to soar about a year ago, concern was sounded about the effects this would have on the nation's water and land conservation programs.

The concern stemmed from the fact that approval of projects such as stream flood control depends upon a formula which compares the economic benefits to be derived with the costs involved. Higher interest rates obviously would have to be included in the cost side of that formula. As a result, a project that could have been justified two years ago might now be disqualified simply because interest rates had risen.

Senator Karl Mundt (R-S.D.) is asking Congress to correct this situation. He points out that unless corrective action is taken soon, there will be under-development of the nation's water resources in the years ahead which could lead to a shortage of water in the future due to lack of sufficient reservoirs.

What Senator Mundt proposes is that in the future water conservation planners crank into the cost-benefit formula definite economic values for benefits which in the past have been considered intangible.

He points to the Gilliam Reservoir project in Arkansas as one example of how this could be done.

In reviewing the justification for that reservoir, it was noted that the cost side of the equation included \$328,000 for recreation. Yet, the breakdown of benefits showed no gains for recreation.

Similarly, in the Biloxi Harbor, Miss., project, no economic benefits were toted up for the increase in barge hauling of coal there due to the development.

In the long run, lower interest rates would simplify the problems facing water resources planners, but until such rates show a decline consideration of the economic value of such projects should indeed be revised as Senator Mundt suggests.

NEGLECT OF ARTS BY NIXON ADMINISTRATION

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, I realize that President Nixon is faced with many tremendous and awesome problems. However, it is also important that the quality

on 68 days. The examiner's recommendations of last April were revised by the CAB, revised again by President Johnson and now revised by President Nixon.

As evidence of their hopes for business in the Pacific, the competing U.S. airlines have spent millions and millions of dollars seeking rights to the routes. In 1967 alone, they spent some \$4 million just on lawyer fees.

With bigger and faster planes, they were hoping to cut fares and flying times and thus enormously increase the tourist popularity of Hawaii, Japan and even New Zealand and Australia.

Security and foreign relations aside—whatever they may mean in this instance—competition generally is the public's greatest benefactor, in air travel or any other field. In this respect, Nixon's decisions cannot be regarded as other than disappointing.

But if the Pacific business of the future is as lucrative as the airlines obviously believe, this fight will go on and on (as it should) until the U.S. carriers get a fatter proportion of the Pacific business and American travelers and shippers get better service.

AMBASSADOR DAVID K. E. BRUCE

Mr. SPONG. Mr. President, for the better part of this decade, Mr. David K. E. Bruce has been our Ambassador to the Court of St. James in London and now has retired. He not only served in London for 8 years—longer than any other American—but he was our Ambassador to both France and Germany and the only American to hold these top three diplomatic posts.

Ambassador Bruce's long and varied career of public service also included membership in the legislature of both Virginia and his native Maryland.

Few diplomats have served their country with more diligence than Ambassador Bruce. Virginians have taken pride in his accomplishments and hope that in retirement he will spend much time at his residence, Staunton Hill, near Brookneal, in Charlotte County, Va.

Attendance at an Embassy briefing in London, presided over by Ambassador Bruce, gave one an opportunity to appreciate the depth of experience and knowledge that enabled Mr. Bruce to cover with clarity the entire range of Anglo-American relations.

We salute this distinguished American and wish him well in the future.

THE RIGHT APPROACH

Mr. HANSEN. Mr. President, the thoughts of a great number of Americans has centered on the downing of the U.S. Navy plane by the North Koreans. I want to take just a moment to comment on President Nixon's response to this serious matter.

I interpret the President's statement—that he has ordered the flights continued, with protection—to mean that our men will seek to shoot down any aircraft which attack.

Mr. Nixon also emphasized that renewal of the flights, which were discontinued when our plane was downed, is not indication that this is the final action we can take or will take in this matter.

The need to continue the flights is obvious. I believe the President made that clear. We still have 56,000 American

troops in South Korea. The North Koreans have made threats against these men, and the border incidents have increased appreciably.

For the protection of our troops, we must continue to know, on a daily basis, what the North Koreans are doing. The best way to determine this apparently is through continued use of the reconnaissance planes.

Our aircraft have flown 190 such missions this year already, and there have been no warnings from North Korea against these missions. Our plane was 90 miles from their shore when attacked and at no time during this flight was it closer than 40 miles.

The attack on our unarmed aircraft was unprovoked and certainly unexpected.

I believe the President has taken the right approach.

SENATOR HARRIS CALLS FOR EQUITY IN RESULTS IN AMERICA

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, the senior Senator from Oklahoma (Mr. HARRIS) spoke recently before the National Press Club about the challenge to our society's unequal distribution of economic and political power.

He spoke of managing the economic system to improve the quality of American life. He spoke of basic rights for citizens. And he spoke of access to the decisionmaking processes for all Americans.

I am pleased that our Democratic Party Chairman touched on a number of questions with which I have been especially concerned—enforcement of antidiscrimination regulations; adherence to school desegregation guidelines; reform of our tax structure; real movement toward peace in Vietnam; the effect of antiballistic-missile deployment; of our hopes for peace abroad and progress at home; reform of the Democratic Party.

I took special interest, however, in Senator HARRIS' call for "a system of economic and social accounting which measures not just the sterile statistics of gross national product and corporate and individual income, but reinjects ethical concerns and human values into our economic management system and measures the quality of American life."

Mr. President, the senior Senator from Oklahoma (Mr. HARRIS) and 21 other Senators are sponsors of my proposed Full Opportunity Act, S. 5, which would establish a Council of Social Advisers and take a long step toward the kind of measurement Senator HARRIS speaks of in his address. I look forward to early hearings on the bill.

I ask unanimous consent that the complete text of Senator HARRIS' remarks before the National Press Club be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the remarks were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REMARKS OF SENATOR FRED R. HARRIS, NATIONAL PRESS CLUB, APRIL 17, 1969

All over America today, as never before in the history of our country, people are challenging our society's unequal distribution of economic and political power.

America's greatest need today is the need to achieve equity for all our citizens—not only equity in opportunity but equity in results.

Equity requires that America put first things first, establishing a system of economic and social accounting which measures not just the sterile statistics on GNP and corporate and individual income, but reinjects ethical concerns and human values into our economic management system and measures the quality of American life—a system which allows us to get our priorities straight so that it may not be said of us: "They could hear the lightest rumble of a distant drum but not the cries of a hungry child."

Equity means making real certain basic rights of every American. In addition to the traditional right to live and lodge and eat where one wants, equity means the right to a minimum standard of income for those who cannot help themselves, and the right to equal opportunity and a decent job at a liveable wage for every person willing and able to work; the right to a decent home in pleasant, wholesome surroundings; the right to a decent education, which prepares for living as well as for earning; the right to good health and enough to eat; and the right to be treated fairly—as a taxpayer and as a consumer of public and private services.

Equity means also that all Americans must have real access to the decision-making processes which affect their own lives.

There is a fundamental sense of unease in our society—a feeling of powerlessness on the part of many of our citizens in the face of huge and impersonal institutions—a sense of inequity, of inability to obtain response or recognition from our schools, our churches, our governmental bodies and our political parties.

There is a nagging sense of worry in our society—a concern that we are drifting listlessly into the stormy face of new and growing problems which beset our radically changing lives and world. For, as the President of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology recently said:

"We are beginning to discover that the right of free citizens to move freely without hindrance can be made meaningless by the breakdown of mass transportation, and the right of free assembly can be negated by impassable city traffic, or, for that matter, by uncontrolled crime in the city street. We are beginning to suspect that free speech and free press might become irrelevant if we were slowly strangled by the air we breathe or slowly poisoned by our drinking water. We are beginning to see that equal rights and equal job opportunity, when finally obtained by citizens long denied them, can be made meaningless by intolerable housing conditions or by ineffective education systems. We are beginning to realize that if exploding populations create a world of starving humans almost standing on each other's shoulders, all concepts of freedom can become irrelevant, and American prosperity could be infuriating and incendiary to billions deprived of either hope or future."

Now, President Richard Nixon has been in office for eighty-seven days. Yet, we will not carp and criticize. But we still await with more than casual interest his first substantial moves to really lead this nation.

For, as Teddy Roosevelt said, the Presidency is a "bully pulpit," and the test of leadership is not how accurately the leader gauges the mood of the people, but how skillfully he can appeal to those sparks of idealism which, though often smothered beneath layers of apathy and inertia, flicker still, waiting to be brought to flame.

The test of leadership is not only how successfully the leader is able to diminish the sounds of political acrimony, but also how acutely he detects the quiet voice of

person's technical qualifications for a particular profession. I'm as fully confident as you are that when one of those bright, clear-eyed engineers or pharmacists or home economists steps up to receive a diploma with his "graduation-with-honors" ribbon fluttering in the breeze, he's as technically well qualified for his profession as any graduate in the world today.

But the word technology has two lines of origin. The "Techne" part carries the connotations of artifice and invention. The "Logos" part, the connotation of wisdom. The question then that we need to ask ourselves as educators, is whether or not these young engineers and chemists and agriculturalists we are educating are wise as well as skilled in their professions? I don't know, but I like to think that they are. Or at least that we have had some part in laying the groundwork that will help them to grow in wisdom as the years go by.

We in higher education are sometimes charged, most often of late by our own students, with producing not well-rounded, reasoning, feeling, civilized members of society, but rather technical automatons, custom styled to fit the needs of a mindless technological society, serving violence and war, and into which they fit as faceless interchangeable parts. Robert Hutchins leveled the latter charge at American education 30 years ago and has continued to reiterate it since then, including at the time of his visit here a couple years back. It is a very serious charge.

But I don't buy it. At least not completely. Granted, there is some very convincing evidence that our current society is more interested in machines than it is in people. But I am not at all convinced that the fault lies wholly with the kind of people we have been producing through our educational system. Rather, I would prefer to believe that this is, as John Quincy Adams suggested, one step in the evolution of mankind. Now that science and technology have given us the tools for true civilization, the challenge to us is to learn to employ them for humane and positive ends.

In looking back over the history of this institution and that of the others like it, one cannot help but be profoundly impressed by the extent to which they have succeeded in harnessing science and technology for humanitarian purposes. Where would we be today without the great achievements of our colleges of agriculture, medicine, chemistry and engineering?

And to suggest that a man who is educated in science or one of the professions is necessarily an unfeeling barbarian, incapable of humanitarian responses is a grossly subjective judgment, wholly unsupportable by logic.

Most of us are agreed, I think, that it need not be an either-or situation.

We need not abandon our instruction in technology and professional skills to place more emphasis on the humanities. We can and must have both. Most important, I think, is that we must be constantly alert to the inherent dangers of technology gone wrong. And to that end, we must aggressively pursue positive change in the direction of greater attention to human concerns.

This, then, brings me to the other major problem I cited earlier, that of inertia and inefficiency. Too many of us, I'm afraid, have a tendency to respond to crises such as these with "business-as-usual" methods. But because these complex problems don't lend themselves to simple solutions, what we end up with in too many cases is doing "business-worse-than-usual."

A leading American educator has said that in a great many of our colleges and universities the most stubborn enemy of excellence in performance has been low morale—a kind of hopelessness on the part of both administration and faculty—hopelessness about

ever achieving distinction as an institution. Not only are such attitudes a corrosive influence on morale, they also make it virtually certain that the institution will never achieve the kind of excellence which is within its reach.

There is a kind of excellence within the reach of every institution. We are all acquainted with some organizations, some families, some athletic teams, some political groups that inspire their members to great heights of personal performance. Such high individual performance depends to a great extent on the capacity of the society or institution to evoke it.

Last June, in an effort to ask ourselves some of these questions as they relate to this university, the deans and I together with a handful of faculty members and some other key administrators, drove up to Lake Metigoshe, near the Canadian border for a sort of retreat—an opportunity to get away from the day-to-day concerns of life on the campus; a chance to look at what we were doing through the large end of the telescope; an opportunity to get some feeling of detachment. I felt it was a most successful outing. The initial recommendations that grew out of that conference will be published soon.

We talked about such relatively mundane things as needed changes in the various curricula, new ideas in research and extension; a system for better evaluating and rewarding faculty performance; greater real student and faculty involvement in decision making; the university's physical needs; and the importance of accommodating the academically gifted student as well as the academically underendowed. But this was the first time, in recent years at least, that we have taken the opportunity to put NDSU under the microscope to come up with recommendations about its future directions.

With a target date of 1975 to give us something to shoot for, we are currently beginning to implement some of the recommendations that came out of that retreat. We have lumped it all under the title, SU '75. Although this idea may seem new to us, its philosophical roots go very deep.

The land-grant system that created NDSU, was conceived under a powerful democratic dictum: That all work is dignified, and that students should be taught on the basis of their ability to learn some worthwhile work, whether intellectual or practical, rather than on the basis of money or social position.

That position was eloquently restated a few years back by John W. Gardner when he said, "We must learn to honor excellence, indeed to demand it, in every socially accepted human activity, however humble . . . and to scorn shoddiness, however exalted. . . . An excellent plumber is infinitely more admirable than an incompetent philosopher. The society which scorns excellence in plumbing because it is a humble activity and tolerates shoddiness in philosophy because it is an exalted activity will have neither good plumbing nor good philosophy. Neither its pipes nor its theories will hold water."

It is on this kind of philosophy that SU '75 is based.

It is not a list of specific changes we hope to bring about. Rather, it is a broad-based challenge to our teachers and students, a challenge to help us create environment in which SU '75 can happen. The specifics of these changes will come from our teachers, our students, and our alumni.

And I am particularly pleased to report to Mr. Gallagher, who so kindly offered the services of NDSU's 17,000 alumni a few minutes ago, that we do indeed have a challenge for them. Among the changes we hope to see at NDSU by 1975 are in the physical face of our campus.

One change is a new Music Building as a part of the Fine Arts Complex which was begun last year with the completion of Askarnase Hall. Another would be the con-

struction of new South Stands at Dacotah Field. Another is a new University Library. And there are more—a Research and Development Center to house the electronic computers; a new Auditorium to replace Festival Hall; and a Faculty-Alumni Center that will provide an atmosphere for the continuing exchange of ideas among all the University's people. Hopefully, some of these structures will be constructed with partial aid from state appropriations. Others may be eligible for Federal assistance. But part of this total program—an estimated \$4 million worth—will have to come from sources other than governmental. It is our hope that leadership in this endeavor can be the alumni's stake in SU '75.

I guess I had never really appreciated before, the great extent to which a university is dependent upon its alumni. Faculty members come and go. In the main, their loyalty goes first to their discipline. Students are here for four or five years. But the dedicated alumnus belongs for the rest of his life. There is a mutual interaction between a good university and its alumni. As an institution grows in stature, the value of its diplomas grows accordingly. But such growth is realized only through the concerned and committed participation of its alumni.

The people who founded this university 79 years ago, had, I'm sure, lofty hopes for what it might become. I doubt if they envisioned anything quite like what it is today. But they, and the people who came after them, have given us a strong foundation of dedication, commitments, and intellectual aspiration on which to build.

Today we face a responsibility to them, to the people of North Dakota, to our students, our alumni and ourselves that is infinitely more far-reaching in its implications than at any time before in our history.

In the light of this, it behooves us all to move forward, shunning intellectual faddism and conformity, yet striving for that singular excellence and individuality that is this University's heritage.

Thank you.

PRESENTATION OF PROFESSIONAL TROPHY AWARD TO OHIO

Mr. SAXBE. Mr. President, I am proud that Ohio has been selected winner of the Professional Trophy Award for the excellence of its industrial development program last year.

The award is presented annually by the Society of Industrial Realtors.

An independent board of judges voted North Carolina runnerup for the 1968 award. Virginia placed third and will receive an honorable mention citation.

This is the second time in the past 3 years Ohio has won the award. North Carolina captured the coveted trophy in 1960—the first year it was presented.

The award presentation will be made to Ohio Gov. James A. Rhodes at a luncheon May 6 at the Olympic Hotel in Seattle during the annual spring meeting of the society—a professional affiliate of the National Association of Real Estate Boards. SIR members specialize in marketing industrial properties and meeting industry's real estate needs.

All States and Canadian provinces are invited to compete for the award. In addition to Ohio and North Carolina, previous winners have been Maine, Manitoba, Texas, Georgia, and Kentucky, which won twice—in 1964 and 1967.

The Ohio industrial development program is carried out by the State's de-

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We are asked to spend almost \$2 billion to land an American on the moon, while our entire food and nutrition budget is estimated at \$720 million.

These strange priorities put the war in Vietnam ahead of the health of our own people.

A man on the moon is somehow more important in our scheme of values than feeding hungry children.

I believe it is time to reconsider these priorities. I believe the American people, and their Congress, are about to do exactly this.

Somehow in the maze of our political complexities we have lost sight of human values. Perhaps we are about to rediscover them.

It is on one specific aspect of these forgotten human values that I wish to place particular emphasis today.

As we call for specific programs and more adequate funding, let those of us concerned with health continue to demand that we reconsider and revise the priorities which shower funds on armaments and space exploration at the expense of poor people.

Our nation has long adhered to the principle of public education, insisting that every American has the right to attend a free public school.

We say that democracy must have enlightened, educated citizens if it is to remain a free society.

Our economy promises rewards based on hard work and education.

We tell our young people that if they stay in school and concentrate on studies, they will be able to get ahead.

Historically the philosophers of an egalitarian society have always insisted on the individual's right to an education as essential to giving every man an equal opportunity.

Isn't it time that we realized that exactly the same arguments apply to health?

It is an impudent mockery to say "all men are created equal" to a boy whose body or mind never developed properly because his migrant mother as a deficient pre-natal diet.

How can we seriously tell the child, whose health has been weakened by years of slum neglect, that because he lives in a free society he must stand on his own two feet and compete with his healthy middle class contemporaries for a job?

For our democracy to work, every person must have an opportunity to achieve a decent life for himself and his family.

Yet poor health is just as much of a barrier as a lack of education for the poor person—perhaps even more of a barrier, for disease and malnutrition feed on the strength and the spirit of a man, sucking him into despair and lethargy.

To fight their way out of poverty, poor Americans need all of their strength, all of their mental and physical resources.

Yet they have less access to national medical and other health services than anyone else in our society.

I believe it is time to give new substance to the promise of our democratic society to the poor people of our nation.

Let us declare that among the inalienable rights of every man, woman, and child in America is the right to be healthy. Let us declare that the right to be healthy is as essential a part of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness as is the right to an education.

And then, having avowed this commitment, let us assert and achieve the right to be healthy in every slum, at every cross roads, in every labor camp in our nation.

We must demand that every child has access to health services, that every family can get medical assistance when it needs it.

The United States can do this.

Once the threats to our national health have been recognized for what they are, we will rise to fight them with the courage and

determination with which we have met other threats to our security and freedoms.

We have the knowledge, we have the people, we have the resources.

The right to health will add a shining new star to the panoply of America's promise.

Let each of us do all we can in the battle to make the right to be healthy an American reality.

WJ

FLIGHTS OF RECONNAISSANCE PLANES TO CONTINUE

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, the decision to continue the flights of reconnaissance planes in the Sea of Japan to send armed escorts with them is a decision only the President should have made.

Since that was his decision I support it. I am sure North Korea received a much stronger warning than has been made public. A more emotional response might have been more satisfying initially, but I doubt if it would have improved chances for world peace.

From all evidence the shooting down of the unarmed plane was an aggressive act of war and while President Nixon made only a temporary decision, I think he made it crystal clear that he—and the United States—will not tolerate such incidents in the future. I support that policy.

A COMMITMENT TO EXCELLENCE

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. President, on April 11, Dr. L. D. Loftsgard was inaugurated as president of North Dakota State University in Fargo, N. Dak.

I believe his excellent inaugural address, entitled "A Commitment to Excellence," covered many of the problems and hopes in higher education today. His thoughts would be of interest to anyone concerned with the future development and growth of higher education. Therefore, I ask unanimous consent that his address be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

A COMMITMENT TO EXCELLENCE

(An address by Dr. L. D. Loftsgard, delivered on the occasion of his inauguration as the 10th President of North Dakota State University, Friday, April 11, 1969, at Fargo, N. Dak.)

I recall reading in the paper last spring about a Commencement address that our esteemed neighbor Dr. Malcolm Moos was slated to give at the University of Minnesota.

It seems that the exercises had been scheduled out-of-doors and, at the last minute, had to be cancelled because of rain. Dr. Moos, being an adaptable fellow as well as a public speaker of no mean accomplishment, decided, in preference to letting his speech go to waste, to deliver it to the family dog which had that day been graduated from obedience school. He later reported the dog, in the manner of students nowadays, had howled piteously at several points, but at least Dr. Moos had had the satisfaction of feeling the day was not completely in vain.

We have a very nice dog at our house. But I must say, it pleases me greatly that the Jonahs among my associates, who have been predicting for the past three months that the mighty Red would have swollen its banks with pride by now and inundated us all, have been confounded and I'm not having to give this talk to Red, our family's Irish Setter.

We are indeed pleased, and, speaking in

behalf of the University as well as myself, flattered, to have such a distinguished group of friends present for this occasion.

A university is like a human being in many respects. And this is not really so surprising if you stop to think about it—being the brainchild of human beings and made up of people. It has character, a personality, an aggregate intellect, standing in its community, status among its peers and a social role that constantly changes in some respects, but remains rigidly constant in others.

I have the impression that, during its early years, NDSU, or the Agricultural College as it was known as in those days, was rather a brash, young, no-nonsense kind of institution, with its shirtsleeves rolled up and a determination to do everything it could to help the North Dakotans of that day survive in an oftentimes hostile environment. The work of such people as Edwin Ladd, the Waldron brothers, H. L. Bolley and others will attest to that.

In the years to follow, science and technology became the watchwords of the institution's education philosophy, equipping its people with the tools and skills they would need to cope with an increasingly technology-oriented society.

NDSU's official designation as a university nine years ago, portended another change in its philosophical role, a change which, in keeping with its growing maturity as an institution, reflects not only the realization that science and technology alone cannot solve humanity's problems but society's changing values as well.

I think John Quincy Adams summed all of this up rather succinctly more than 150 years ago, when he said, "we must learn the arts of war and independence so that our children can learn engineering and architecture, so that their grandchildren can learn fine arts and painting." Ironically, visionary though he was, John Quincy Adams apparently could not foresee the extent to which it would be necessary for us still to be learning the arts of war, simultaneous with engineering and architecture, while we continue the search for the elusive keys to human behavior that will allow us, one day, to get off this frightening roller coaster ride to self destruction.

This is a very exciting time to be involved with higher education. I wouldn't trade my role in it for anything. But it's also a very sobering time.

Recently, a prominent educator who has long been involved with educational planning on a global scale, published a report which he called a systems analysis of the world crisis in education. In it, he identifies five major forces at work in education today. They include the great flood of students we all have been experiencing in the past couple of decades; the alarming rise in the costs of education which has accompanied this expansion; the scarcity of resources—both human and economic—to cope with these increased demands; the unsuitability of the output of higher education today; and, finally, the inertia and inefficiency we are experiencing in adapting ourselves to cope with these problems.

Although each one of these factors is menu for extensive deliberation, I'm going to dwell for a moment on only the last two.

This one about the unsuitability of our output should particularly concern us today. As we watch our young people stride across the Commencement platforms here, and at other institutions this spring, I think we would do well to ask ourselves just what kind of creature is this that we have produced? I suppose there are some slightly Frankensteinian connotations to that statement, but I do think some rather deep soul searching is in order at this particular point in time.

When we speak of such things as quality or suitability, we are not talking about a given

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pioneering spirit of the people of Utah has been dramatically demonstrated.

I would like to ask that an editorial appearing in the Salt Lake Tribune this morning be inserted at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A TRIBUTE TO VISION

If there were any question about the U. of U.'s eminence in the world of Medical science they should be dispelled by the recent location at the institution of a nation heart study center. The designation also augments the embryonic University Research Park.

From a field of several well-known, long-established science centers, the U. of U. was selected as one of two locations for a full-scale artificial heart test and evaluation laboratory funded through the National Heart Institute in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. A Federal contribution of \$800,000 will start the project.

Implications of such a program are varied and many. It amply justifies the emphasis on medical research at the University College of Medicine. Expanded facilities have provided for a distinguished faculty and outstanding contributions have been made to medical progress. The Artificial Heart Testing award not only acknowledges University excellence; it contributes to it as well.

The project is a credit to University President James C. Fletcher and all those who have worked diligently on the Research Park plan. The idea for commercial research conducted in conjunction with colleges and universities has proven itself on campuses in other states. But anything so ambitious always depends on ability and determination to get started.

Utah's selection for the heart testing center also derives from previous involvement in the project planning by Fluidronics Research Laboratory of ITE Imperial Corporation, an early research park tenant.

Those connected to the project see it as the bellwether of similar research park developments. Quite certainly it will attract eminent scientists in the field of heart and artificial organ medicine. Allied enterprises are also likely to be located nearby.

We congratulate all who have joined in this cooperative effort. A special commendation should go to the many Utah citizens who supported the scientific excellence at the publicly supported institutions of higher education. The bright future only glimpsed a few years ago is almost at hand.

FUTURE U.S. TRADE POLICY

Mr. SYMINGTON. Mr. President, in 1968, the U.S. commercial trade surplus declined \$3.4 billion to a mere \$100 million, the lowest level since 1936. This very serious deterioration in our trade account resulted from a 22-percent increase in imports as against only a 9-percent increase in exports; and according to a recent report by the Commerce Department, prospects for substantially improving this trade picture in the near future would appear dim.

This report said in part:

If the export projections and the averaged import projections should be approximately correct—they are of course, subject to many variables and are merely illustrative of anticipated trend—the indicated trade balance in 1973 would range from a \$1.8 billion deficit to a \$1.2 billion surplus.

It is essential therefore that all measures possible and practical be taken to

improve the U.S. trade position in the world. In some instances, this may require a reappraisal of our own trade restrictions which may be too restrictive on the ability of American industries to export more goods and services.

In other cases, negotiations will have to be undertaken with other nations in an effort to remove barriers and expand world trade. However, we would hope that any tariff agreements negotiated between our country and other countries or groups of countries be based on true reciprocity. Moreover, it should be emphasized that the United States will not stand idly by while others erect trade barriers, particularly nontariff barriers, which adversely affect the export of American goods and services. The reduction of trade barriers must be a two-way street; and every precaution must be taken that the Government not take unilateral actions which could jeopardize the competitiveness of U.S. products in foreign markets.

In this connection, as an example of the trade problems faced by American business, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an excerpt from remarks by Mr. Charles Sommer, chairman of the board of the Monsanto Co., at their annual meeting on March 27, 1969, in St. Louis, Mo.

There being no objection, the excerpt was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

It is the chairman, however, who traditionally reviews with you the consequences of certain policies and regulations of our federal government—and to this end, I have some rather specific observations to share with you this year.

First, let me deal with the subject of petroleum import quotas, which were established for national security purposes 10 years ago, to protect the energy market in the United States. We have no quarrel with this objective nor do we argue with the necessity of maintaining a healthy domestic petroleum exploration and production program. However, far from the original purpose of the quota system, we are caught in a harmful squeeze in obtaining raw materials for our U.S. petrochemical operations. As a result, chemical companies overseas can obtain these feedstocks at prices 40 per cent below those we have to pay for all feedstocks beyond the quotas. Consequently, we are currently paying a premium of \$1.25 per barrel for such feedstocks; and this amounts to more than \$13 million a year—a sizeable bounty borne by Monsanto but not by foreign competitors.

As you can see, this puts us at a material disadvantage in selling our products in export markets. And as tariff reductions are made under the Kennedy Round, our domestic competitive position will be in further jeopardy.

Therefore, we have joined with other U.S. companies, whose petrochemical operations are similarly affected, in petitioning our government to remove import restrictions on petroleum feedstocks for petrochemical manufacture. This would allow companies of this nation to be fully competitive here and abroad.

Now let me turn attention to an even larger segment of our business: man-made fibers. Again in 1968, imports reached an all-time high, approaching 10 per cent of our nation's total consumption. About two-thirds of the imports involved fibers themselves, and the rest were in blends in the form of textiles and apparel.

And how fortunate it was that at least during the year 1968, additional imports

could be absorbed during a period of peak demand, the result being that the U.S. marketplace was not seriously disrupted.

Yet, the unhappy fact is this: tariffs on fibers, textiles and apparel are scheduled for decreases, in steps, over the next three years. We do not believe this situation is in the national interest. It is detrimental to our economy and to our workers. We simply cannot be content with such tariff reductions while our overseas competitors are using a different set of rules, aided by lower wage rates and a broad variety of subsidies.

Accordingly, we have joined our largest customer, the textiles industry, in appealing to the federal government. As you probably know, there is already in existence a voluntary agreement with foreign nations which limits the importation of cotton textiles and apparel. What we seek is this: a broadening of this agreement to include man-made fibers and materials made from them. We are encouraged that the new administration has promised support for our program, and we are now eagerly awaiting the first signs of implementation.

AK

INTELLIGENCE GATHERING AND THE NAVY EC-121 PLANE

Mr. MCGEE. Mr. President, some persons reacted quickly to the downing of the Navy EC-121 over the Sea of Japan last week, with the thought that the United States should not be flying so-called spy missions anyway, and probably could not turn up any useful information as a result of such missions. In other words, they were quick to say, in effect, that the incident, like the *Pueblo* seizure before it, should not have occurred because we should not have been there in the first place.

I disagree, as I suspect most informed Americans do. Intelligence gathering in the jungle world we live in remains a necessity. Nor does it clarify the issue to call such intelligence missions spying. Operations in or over international waters are not quite the same as intrusions of another nation's sovereignty.

Aside from this, we do learn essential information through these missions, although, as in all intelligence operations, we also turn up much chaff. Sunday, the New York Times published an article which gives a good example of why the planes fly these missions. I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WHY THE PLANES FLY THOSE RISKY MISSIONS

(By William Beecher)

WASHINGTON.—The slow, four-engine EC-121 moved into position some 50 miles off the eastern coast of North Korea. At a master radio console, a senior radio specialist who spoke Korean fluently started slowly turning his radio dial.

He listened for a few minutes and decided one channel was potentially interesting, carrying the voice transmission of a nearby radio operator guiding a pair of MIG's in his plane's direction.

He signaled to another technician to lock on to this frequency, clear out the static, and start a tape recorder.

Over the next 30 minutes, the linguist had swept the entire frequency band and had a dozen channels monitored and taped simultaneously.

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of the general public also could participate more directly, if they choose, as volunteers in probation and parole programs. A number of pilot programs indicate such volunteers can be very valuable additions to a system now greatly overburdened and short of personnel.

Let me mention one federally-financed project that has demonstrated the effectiveness of volunteers in corrections work. A Denver County Court probation program, which received a federal grant, now has some 800 volunteers who work with people on probation. The volunteers are a cross-section of the community; they include celebrities like members of the Denver Broncos football team. The large number of volunteers makes possible a ratio of about one counsellor per probationer. To date, results have been very encouraging. Re-arrests before the project ran 3.5 percent. But for those who have received the concentrated probation services, the rate has dropped more than half—to 1.5 percent.

If as national surveys show the sensibilities of many are hardened against the adult offenders perhaps greater sympathy could be evoked for the youthful offenders. As a people we have always been moved by the sight of youngsters in trouble. A great many of them are in deep trouble today.

JUVENILE INJUSTICE

This country has been guilty of many failures in attempting to cope with crime but none is so spectacular as our failure to deal with the youthful offender. None is so significant, none is so frightening for our children are our most lawless citizens. Recent figures show that persons under 21 represent some 64 percent of all those arrested for the most serious crimes; homicide, forcible rape, robbery, aggravated assault, burglary, larceny, auto theft. Eight of every 10 auto thefts were by persons under 21. So were seven of every 10 arrests for robbery. Our 15 and 16-year-olds are arrested more frequently than any other age group.

The arrest rates for all crimes for juveniles continue to grow wildly. In 1966, for instance, arrests of adults declined slightly but arrests of juveniles increased nine percent. If they are criminals as youths, the odds now are good they will be hardened criminals as adults. Four out of every five adult felons were convicted of misdemeanors—generally as youths—before committing their more serious crimes. Most of that could have been prevented. The juvenile justice system is in such disrepair that of the 400,000 youths in jails each year, about 100,000 of them are imprisoned with hardened, adult criminals. No program can substitute for the concern that the people of this country must develop. They must know that we cannot go on failing so many children in such profound ways and still have any real hope for tomorrow. Those children are, after all, the one natural resource that we cannot get along without.

WHAT LEAA CAN DO TO HELP

Concern must, of course, be followed by action. In addition to the substantial action grants that the LEAA will soon award, a number of other programs are getting underway. Studies on how to make corrections programs more effective are being started by the National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice, the research body of LEAA. The Institute also will evaluate the effectiveness of just about every major type of program in existence in corrections today.

Additional qualified manpower is desperately needed throughout corrections. You, of course, know only too well how overburdened correctional personnel are. Another need is for increased professionalization of present staffs. As a major step toward both these goals, the LEAA this year has given some \$6.5 million to finance college degree studies by corrections and law enforcement personnel and those studying for careers in those

fields. The grants and loans are administered by some 500 colleges and universities now taking part in the program. Eventually, 1,800 schools are expected to participate. This program will be of great help in improving correctional personnel and aiding recruitment efforts as well. The education funds this year are assisting some 14,000 persons. For the next fiscal year, we hope to have about \$20 million for the education program. That would enable us to finance college studies by some 40,000 persons—most of them in corrections and police work. Those figures represent a substantial and very promising beginning.

The complaint is often heard that just about everybody ignores corrections. But that, I think, is changing. Your presence here is one indication. The work being done by you and your counterparts across the country is another. The requirement of Title I that corrections be treated as a full and equal partner in the criminal justice system—in planning and in allocation of financial resources—is another.

We must now transmit that sense of urgency so that people everywhere support these efforts as though their lives depended on it. In more instances than we might like to admit, that is precisely the case.

HUMAN RIGHTS

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, the United States of America has long been regarded by other peoples of the world as a great sanctuary of human rights. We have tried to establish an example of high ideals by the Declaration of Independence and to eternally preserve this example in our Constitution and the Bill of Rights. This is the Nation that professed to hold out the shining beacon of freedom and opportunity to the less fortunate. The Statue of Liberty proclaims:

Give me your tired, your poor,
Your huddled masses yearning to be free,
The wretched and refused of your teeming
shores.

Send these, the homeless, tempest tossed to
me;

I lift my lamp beside the golden door.

In the years following the Second World War, a world exhausted by strife and horrified by the revelation of Dachau, Breslau, and Auschwitz drew up a convention to outlaw any such future action. It was resolved that never again would an attempt to exterminate an entire people like the Nazi persecution of the Jews be permitted to occur. The resulting United Nations Convention on Genocide met with enthusiastic approval in most of the world, but here in the United States Senate it bogged down in the Committee on Foreign Relations.

Now, 19 years later, the United States remains among the small number of countries that have not yet ratified the convention. Eighty nations have preceded us in the ratification of the Genocide Convention, and the Senate has as yet taken no action.

Also unpassed are the Conventions on Political Rights for Women and on Forced Labor. There is no element in the American society that can be offended by the ideals set forth in these Conventions; indeed, they reaffirm what America claims to have stood for for 193 years. The United States practices political rights for women, and abhors forced labor. Why should we not demonstrate

our beliefs again to the community of nations by the simple action of publicly voting to support these provisions.

There is no real excuse for delay. Let us act now to finish what should have been completed years ago. Let us ratify these Human Rights Conventions.

UNIVERSITY OF UTAH CHOSEN FOR ARTIFICIAL HEART PROGRAM—A TRIBUTE TO VISION

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. President, last Saturday it was my privilege to learn from the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare that the University of Utah has been chosen by the National Heart Institute as one of the Nation's first full-scale artificial heart, test, and evaluation centers.

The university's proposal was one of two selected over 13 others submitted by some of the most prestigious medical centers in the Nation. It was made possible by many factors, not the least of which is the excellent faculty and staff at the university medical center.

Combined with this personal asset is an excellent bioengineering program and a computer science department, all of which will support the overall project.

Nor can one fail to mention the fine work that has already been accomplished at the university in the area of artificial organs. Also the program will be closely coordinated with the Latter-Day Saints Hospital in Salt Lake City where a great deal of pioneer medical work has been done on heart problems.

The recent developments in Texas wherein a man was kept alive for 65 hours with an artificial heart, dramatically show what can be accomplished with artificial organs. I think we can safely say that we have only begun in the search for artificial devices to replace the human heart where necessary.

I have worked very closely with many persons in obtaining approval for this project, and I think all will join me today in saying that the University of Utah will exert its best scientific and medical efforts to become the artificial heart center of the world.

If past dedication, performance, and professional qualifications are any criteria, I am sure Utah will succeed.

This award brings a great deal of satisfaction to President James C. Fletcher, of the university, and to his fine staff at the school. I also wish personally to thank and compliment the dean of the medical school, Dr. Kenneth Castleton, and to Dr. Frank W. Hastings, the chief of the artificial heart branch, as well as Dr. Theodore Cooper, the Director of the National Heart Institute, for their efforts and contributions in this exciting field.

I should also make public note of the uncounted hours given by L. Ralph Mecham, formerly a vice president at the university; Raymond Hixon and Warren Johnston, of fluidonics divisions of the Imperial Eastman Corp., who also contributed to the success of this award.

Truly this is a milestone for the State of Utah and as the years go by and we look back to the developments which I am sure will come in the area of artificial organs, we can say that once again the

cient and wholly responsible administration. Up to now, all things considered, that's what we've been having.

Dick Nixon has been doing very well indeed. He's not only doing the job as he outlined it before his election, he's doing it even better.

The proof of that pudding, despite the yips of the wahoo warriors, is that a lot of Americans who didn't vote for him in November would do so today.

Our new President has everything to gain by following his present course—and possibly everything to lose by following the voices which echo Hanoi's and Moscow's complaints.

SECRETARIES WEEK

Mr. HATFIELD. Mr. President, I wish to remind Senators that Secretaries Week will be observed April 20-26, 1969, and will mark the 18th consecutive year for this observance. Wednesday, April 23, will be highlighted as Secretaries Day.

Although Secretaries Week was originated in 1952 by the National Secretaries Association, International, in cooperation with the U.S. Department of Commerce, it is for all secretaries.

The whole purpose of NSA, through its various activities, including Secretaries Week, is to maintain a program of continuing education for secretaries to keep them updated on changes and new developments.

Business equipment manufacturers recognize the ever-growing importance of skilled office personnel. They realize that in this age of technological change it is imperative for business enterprises, if they are to take full advantage of the modern equipment now available, to have staffs trained and educated to meet the challenge of competition.

It is truly said: "Better secretaries mean better business."

TRUTH IN GOVERNMENT

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. Mr. President, one of the greatest needs of this country is a truth-in-government law. In America, 1,900,000 of the finest young men have been sent to Vietnam and Thailand to fight in an unpopular undeclared war. More than 200,000 fine young Americans have been killed and wounded in Vietnam to date, and more than 2,000 are missing in action or are prisoners of war. Thousands have died from bubonic plague, hepatitis, malaria, and other jungle diseases, and many more will suffer from the effects of and recurrence of attacks of these diseases throughout their lives. Also, we are spending at least \$1 billion this year on an anti-ballistic-missile system to ring various areas of our country including Washington, D.C., with an ABM system, now termed safeguard ABM, by some bright public relations man working in the Pentagon. Americans should know the truth—this boondoggle may eventually cost as much as \$100 billion and be obsolescent by the time that ABM silos have been installed just as were the Nike-Zeus missiles and others on which billions of dollars of taxpayers' money were wasted.

Since 1954, and particularly from November 1963, our country has replaced France in world opinion as the aggressor nation in Vietnam. Americans know that

the strongest defense against communism is to make our American system of government work so that men and women the world over will regard the United States as the nation where all citizens, regardless of race or color, are liberty-loving Americans enjoying equal opportunities and complete freedom. It is high time that Americans were told the truth—that more than 600,000 Americans are fighting in Southeast Asia and many of them dying because the administration refuses to admit our mistake in attempting to create a pro-American, and anti-Chinese buffer state in South Vietnam following the time the French withdrew in 1954. As Walter Lippmann bluntly put it, "We are fighting to save face." More than 2,500 years ago Confucius wrote, "A man who makes a mistake and does not correct it makes another mistake." A nation making a mistake and failing to correct it likewise makes another mistake.

PRESIDENT'S REACTION TO NORTH KOREAN TREACHERY IS WISE

Mr. HRUSKA. Mr. President, the shooting down last Tuesday of the U.S. Navy EC-121 reconnaissance plane by North Korea has resulted in a further demonstration of the firm, calm, and capable grip which President Nixon has on our country's foreign affairs.

In making clear that our surveillance in international air space must and will continue and in stressing that such flights will be protected, the President did not respond with ineffective threats. He has responded with a statement of the case.

Dealing with an unpredictable and paranoid nation is at best difficult. It would be the height of folly to succumb to the temptation to act as that nation acts, irrationally and irresponsibly. President Nixon has chosen clarity and reason. The policy he has announced is not ambiguous, and I commend him for it.

I ask unanimous consent that the four newspaper editorials commenting on the President's action be printed in the RECORD.

The first, from the Oakland, Calif., Tribune, of which our former colleague is editor and publisher, well posed the spirit and feeling of the Nation at large, as to what should and what should not be done.

The other three are typical appraisals and approvals of the President's firm, realistic action.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Oakland (Calif.) Tribune, Apr. 17, 1969]

ANOTHER ACT OF BARBARISM—ANOTHER INSULT UNANSWERED?

Our nation today is once again gripped in the agonizing dilemma of how to respond to a murderous and barbarous act by the belligerent Communist regime in North Korea.

North Korea is scornfully boasting to the world that on Tuesday it downed "with one stroke" a United States Navy reconnaissance plane with a crew of 31 men aboard.

The Pentagon says two bodies, but no survivors, have been found.

Our plane, a lumbering, 300-m.p.h. propeller-driven surveillance aircraft laden with six tons of electronic equipment, was clearly defenseless—in fact, shockingly defenseless under the circumstances.

The kill—apparently by two sophisticated Communist MIG jets—was as simple to achieve as it was cowardly.

Ours was a routine reconnaissance flight—the sort of flight which has been common over the Sea of Japan for 20 years, the sort of reconnaissance activity, in fact, carried on today by every world power.

The North Koreans contend the U.S. plane violated their air space—as if, even if it were true, this fact alone could somehow make right a homicidal skeet shoot in the sky with 31 defenseless American airmen as the target.

Our government flatly denies any such air space violation. The Pentagon insists the plane was lawfully traveling only in international corridors. The recovery by rescue ships of the bodies and portions of the plane's wreckage 120 miles off the North Korean coast points ominously to a blatant North Korean lie.

Our nation, of course, has been here before—just 15 months ago when the USS Pueblo was seized by North Korea, with one of its crewmen killed and the remainder ignominiously imprisoned, tortured and subjected to extracted "confessions."

We responded then with a weakness unbefitting our role as the leading defender of freedom and democracy against the dictators and tyrants of not only the Far East but of the entire planet.

When the Pueblo was seized we should have immediately proceeded to blockade Wonsan and other North Korean ports. No vessels should have been allowed to leave or enter until the Pueblo and its crew were back under United States jurisdiction.

But we didn't. Perhaps the argument could have been made then that to do so would have jeopardized the lives of the Pueblo crewmen. No such claim can now be made.

The words and warning of Thomas Jefferson at an earlier date in our history haunt us today.

In a letter to John Jay, Jefferson urged not only the establishment of a strong U.S. naval force but also prompt retaliation against any aggressor seizing or harassing U.S. ships on the high seas.

Speedy retaliation, Jefferson declared, was necessary because—as he put it—"An insult unanswered is the parent of many others."

We shall not be so presumptuous as to suggest what specific course of action our President should now take. No citizen does or can have the information available to a President. None of us can know all the implications of this latest, and obviously deliberate, Communist diversionary tactic.

But we can suggest what ought not be the limit of our response. We ought not merely express our outrage. We ought not be satisfied with merely a "strong diplomatic protest." We ought not let the matter repose in a new round of "negotiations" with sullen and smug tin-horn tyrants. We ought not settle for only the ultimate issuance of some debasing and self-degrading mutual "statement"—as we did in the Pueblo incident.

For, as surely as the unanswered insult of the Pueblo seizure was the parent of Tuesday's bloodthirsty attack on our unarmed reconnaissance plane, just as surely will this latest insult—if unanswered—be the parent of yet further insult and tragedy to our nation.

[From the Washington Star, Apr. 19, 1969]

THE RESPONSE

The protest lodged in Panmunjom over the downing of the United States reconnaissance plane by North Korea is, in view of the diplomatic realities, just about as

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INFORMATION PUZZLE

Most of the information, when it was delivered to the top-secret National Security Agency at Fort Meade, Md., would turn out to be of little value. But a few nuggets, when analyzed and dovetailed with information turned up at a diplomatic cocktail party in Jakarta, some photographs from a high-flying reconnaissance satellite, and a report from an agent working as a stayedore in a Soviet port city, would reveal that after the seizure of the spy ship Pueblo 15 months ago, Russia more than doubled the number of surface-to-air missile sites in North Korea, from 14 to 35, representing a total of 210 launchers. Future intelligence missions would attempt to pinpoint each of the new sites, determine the quality of their equipment and the training of their crews.

If war breaks out in Korea, knowledge of where these SAM's are and how they might be thwarted might be a crucial factor in the outcome.

ABOUT 190 MISSIONS

This mission happened not to be the one last Monday in which two North Korean MIG's came out and shot down the Navy reconnaissance plane. But it might well have been.

Over the last three months, the United States has flown about 190 similar missions over the Sea of Japan.

Others have focused on communications relating to Communist China's missile program, the border dispute between Russia and China, new radars being installed in all three potentially hostile Communist countries.

The Soviet Union's readiness to lend the assistance of two destroyers in searching for possible survivors among the plane's 31-man crew was, in the opinion of some American officials, not only an act of humanity but also an indication that Russia, with its own intelligence problems, was not particularly happy over the attack in international air space.

The Soviet Union has an extensive a world-wide intelligence-gathering net as the United States, concentrating rather more on intelligence trawlers and less on planes, but with about as many spy satellites.

A limited number of officials in both nations are fully aware of how important fast, accurate information can be in the cold war.

The downed propeller-driven EC-121 had about six tons of electronics equipment. The 31 men aboard made up two crews to enable the plane to remain on station for about eight hours. The intense nature of the work involved requires that the technicians rest occasionally.

SATELLITES UNSATISFACTORY

In addition to monitoring radio messages, this type of plane is equipped to determine the frequencies employed in air-defense radar. The missions that the plans carry out are said to be too complex for spy satellites to conduct effectively.

"It would be nice," said a ranking intelligence official, "if we could program all the things we need into satellites, push a few buttons, and then wait for the information to come flowing in."

"Unfortunately that day, if it ever comes, is still pretty distant. What satellite can carry the six tons of equipment hauled by the EC-121? More important, without human judgment, how is it to decide which radio frequencies to monitor?"

"That's one of the principal reasons," he added, "why President Nixon insisted that, despite the risks, the EC-121 missions must resume off the Korean coast. If we give up our eyes and ears, we better get out of the area, fast."

FALLOUT IN JAPAN

The "spy plane incident" prompted the opposition Socialist party in Japan to revive attacks last week against the pro-American policies of Premier Eisaku Sato. Because the

American plane operated out of an air base near Tokyo, many Japanese feared involvement in a new Asian conflict not of their own choosing. But Premier Sato defended the United States' right to conduct reconnaissance flights over international waters, and said such flights were "necessary" in the kind of world in which Japan lives. He added that the deterrent power of the United States-Japanese security treaty eliminated the danger that Japan might be dragged into a war.

THE PRESIDENT IS DOING THE BEST HE CAN

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. President, President Nixon has become a prime target of certain political factions both in Congress and throughout the country. They seem compelled to take up their own frustrations on the President and have attacked him without giving him a fair chance to resolve the grave problems which he faces.

Recently the editor in chief of the Hearst newspapers wrote an article about these attacks. I think Mr. Hearst has placed the problem in a very clear perspective. I ask unanimous consent that his editorial be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EDITOR'S REPORT: DOING THE BEST HE CAN
(By William Randolph Hearst, Jr.)

NEW YORK, March 22.—Spring wasn't the only development sprung during the past week. The wahoo warriors of the nation's leftist-liberal establishment, after sharpening their tommyhawks in unaccustomed silence for two months, also sprung their expected spring offensive on President Nixon.

It was inevitable that they soon would take off after the Nixon scalp. As a symbol of conservative Republicanism, that scalp would make an even better trophy for the liberal wigwam than that of the Johnson scalp now hanging there. Johnson, after all, was a Democrat.

Thus about the only surprising aspect of the war whoops now being sounded, largely over the Nixon decision to go ahead with the Sentinel missile system, is that the wahoos were able to hold off so long. Some of them, notably Sen. J. William Fulbright, in fact couldn't wait for the rest of the pack.

Even before the Nixon ABM announcement, Chief Doveweathers from Arkansas was wailing that the President was about to risk Moscow's displeasure. When the announcement actually came, it was like a signal for all the rest to follow the Fulbright lead.

In thundering editorials, such liberal policy shapers as the New York Times and the New York Post decreed that Nixon's ABM decision was a disaster from any angle. Since then their stables of pundits—quickly joined by all the other acid-pen, self-proclaimed intellectuals of the leftist-liberal camp—have been lambasting the President himself as a poor leader limited, according to one of "a narrow, political, tactical and public relations view of the world."

And it's only the beginning. George J. McGovern, a dove who parrots the Hanoi line, sounded what is guaranteed to be the biggest single theme of the assault by castigating the new administration for what he called its lack of "strength and courage to genuinely reverse our course in Vietnam." Almost simultaneously, groups of war protesters announced they will resume mass demonstrations with a coordinated turnout in 23 cities on the Easter weekend of April 3-6.

Once again, in other words, the same old slings and arrows of the poisonous and divi-

sive liberal camp can be expected from now on. How they will be used can be predicted with great accuracy. Whatever the President does will be either dead wrong, or inadequate. Above all he will be assailed for resisting Communist pressures from any source, whether Hanoi, Moscow or Peking.

What continually astounds me about the Fulbrights and the McGoverns is their consummate gall in attempting to dictate presidential policy. It was Richard Nixon who was elected to the White House, not the George McGovern who couldn't even get nominated by his own party. And although J. William Fulbright wants to be Secretary of State so bad he can taste it, even the liberal-minded John F. Kennedy wouldn't give him the job.

Compounding the gall of the Fulbrights, McGoverns and their ilk is the fact that none of them really know what they are talking about. It is only the President who has access to all the information needed to make momentous decisions. In his position, significantly and fortunately, he cannot afford to have the kind of one-track, made-up mind displayed by the leftist-liberal critics.

When Lyndon B. Johnson was in the White House he had a framed quotation from Abraham Lincoln sitting on his desk. It said:

"If I were to try to read, much less answer, all the attacks made on me, this shop might as well be closed for any other business. I do the very best I know how—the very best I can; and I mean to keep doing so until the end. If the end brings me out all right, what is said against me won't amount to anything. If the end brings me out wrong, ten angels swearing I was right would make no difference."

That is a perfect guideline for any President—one which should be hung permanently on the wall of the White House Oval Room. It certainly would spare any Chief Executive a lot of unnecessary worry if he didn't listen to, look at or read all the mean, biting, cutting, incisive attacks on him. It's only proper to be aware of such opposition, of course, but he certainly doesn't have to try to appease the critics—nor should he be upset by them.

FDR had the gift of laughing off his critics, sometimes demolishing them with a quip. Eisenhower, too, had something of a cast-iron serenity. But Truman sometimes let the critics get under his skin and even the suave, easy-going Jack Kennedy banned the Herald-Tribune from the White House. LBJ, despite the motto on his desk was the most vulnerable of all in recent years—eventually to the point of political paralysis.

I have a hunch that Dick Nixon, who once blew up at the press, has learned the hard way to let carping criticism roll off his back. After all, he knew exactly what his job entails before he got it. And he certainly knows that the leftist-liberals who are now whooping after him didn't vote for him in the first place, and never will.

Nothing is more true than the saying that the buck stops at the President's desk. Dick Nixon has many crucial decisions ahead of him—on Vietnam, the Mid-East, national defense, domestic priorities and equally controversial matters. However pressing any one problem is, furthermore, it is going to have to be considered and weighed against the commitments and needs of the others.

There is only one man who can, must and is qualified to make those tremendous decisions, and that is the man who was elected to make them. So far President Nixon is being criticized for doing exactly what he said he intended doing—to carefully and cautiously consider all his options before acting at the proper time in the best interests of all the people.

He promised no grandiose new programs, offered no panaceas and held out no hopes that America's problems would be solved overnight. Instead he promised a sane, effi-

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much as this country can do by way of a non-military response. The decision to continue with the spy flights and to provide them with protection is the least that can be done to protect American lives.

President Nixon described the response as an interim move, pending a reply to the protest by Pyongyang. The probability is, however, that North Korea will either disregard the protest or counter with a protest of its own that the United States intruded on North Korean airspace. And the further probability is that the diplomatic dispute will stop there.

The only diplomatic escalation that could take place would be a move to bring the matter to the United Nations Security Council. But this would be an empty gesture. North Korea is not a member of the UN, and already has been branded an aggressor by the council. It could also be an unwise gesture, for it would force Russia to abandon its present neutral posture and side with North Korea, thereby jeopardizing the impending arms limitations talks.

As to the military response, it must be assumed that the President and his advisers have reviewed the need for the reconnaissance flights, and have concluded that the information supplied is worth the demonstrated risks involved. And the decision to protect such missions puts North Korea clearly on notice that the response to any future attack will be something more than a stiff note.

To have responded with an immediate retaliatory attack would have meant a serious risk of involving the United States in a second hot Asian war. And there are some indications that the attack was not a fully premeditated official act calling for a punitive response; that it was, perhaps, a paranoid general's notion of a fitting birthday gift for Premier Kim Il-Sung.

[From the Baltimore Sun, Apr. 19, 1969]

WARNING GIVEN

Like the protest officially delivered to North Korea at Panmunjom, President Nixon's statement at his press conference on the shooting down of a naval reconnaissance plane was impressive for its restraint, a restraint appropriate to the seriousness of the incident. He emphasized the fact that the unarmed aircraft had not flown closer than 40 miles to the North Korean coast and he described the attack on it—90 miles from shore—as unprovoked, deliberate and without warning. He also made it very clear that these surveillance flights are regarded as necessary, and that they will be resumed, continued and from now on, protected.

Although Mr. Nixon declined to say what form the protection would take and was careful to note that his order for the protection was not a threat, the firmness with which he announced it can be interpreted as very plain notice to North Korea that it cannot halt the intelligence missions of United States planes over international waters and that any new attempts to interfere with those missions by force will be met by force.

That this is what might be called an interim decision is apparent from the President's assertion that "Looking to the future . . . what we will do will depend upon the circumstances." It will depend, he added, on what North Korea does, on "its reaction to the protest and also other developments that occur as we continue these flights." The incident of the EC121 is not finally disposed of. For the time being it is being left to diplomatic exchanges.

Obviously Mr. Nixon is trying to avoid any action that would worsen an already thoroughly bad situation. But he has told North Korea—an "unpredictable country," he said—that it will not be permitted to change the United States policy on aerial reconnaissance or to repeat its attack on our planes. Restrained as this message is, it carries an extremely sober warning.

[From the New York Daily News, Apr. 19, 1969]

A FIRM, CALM STAND

A firm, calm stand was taken at his news conference yesterday by President Richard M. Nixon on Red North Korea's Monday shooting down of an unarmed U.S. EC-121 reconnaissance plane.

One hundred ninety similar flights had gone unmolested this year, so that Monday's attack was a complete surprise.

The intelligence flights are essential, said the President, and will go right on—but protected henceforth (by aircraft carriers in the Sea of Japan).

This calm firmness probably will disappoint some Americans. And the Nixon tactics no doubt will have to be revised if North Korea persists in these Pueblo and EC-121-type outrages. For the time being, though, it looks to us as if Mr. Nixon is acting wisely.

AMERICAN PERSEVERANCE

Mr. McGEE, Mr. President, the former Prime Minister of Great Britain, the Earl of Avon, has authored a well-reasoned, cogent essay summing up the need for American perseverance, not only in its negotiations over Vietnam, at Paris, but also in its attempts to approach the Chinese, in the realization that any settlement in Asia which can endure must take into consideration in the interests of the representatives of Peking.

I ask unanimous consent that the article, written by Anthony Eden, and published in last Saturday's New York Times, be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TOPICS: WHY WE MUST PERSEVERE WITH CHINA

(By Anthony Eden, Earl of Avon) ¹

LONDON.—Nobody should be surprised at the recent outbreaks of fighting on the Russo-Chinese frontier. Tension, punctuated by incidents, has been the rule along much of the 4,000-mile frontier for some time now. We are not yet at the end of the business, and we shall make a grave mistake if we belittle or discount the part which China must play in any settlement in Southeast Asia.

Frontier forays are not the only expression of the growing bitterness between Moscow and Peking. Chou En-lai's rebuke of the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia last autumn was sternly meant. The Chinese are acutely aware that they also are Russia's neighbors. Their purpose in censuring Moscow was in part, no doubt, to serve advance notice that no pretext of Communist neighborliness could ever justify any Russian intervention across Chinese frontiers.

Can these events be expected to have any influence on relations between the United States and China? The Chinese conviction that the United States menaces her security is, I believe, genuinely held. In Chinese eyes the inescapable evidence of this is the American military presence on the continent of Asia. It follows that if Washington contemplates a negotiation which would result in a phased reduction of American forces from South Vietnam, in return for a withdrawal of North Vietnamese forces, China will be a deeply interested party and should prudently be treated as such.

Not too much should be made of the postponement of the talks in Warsaw. There were some epithets flying when this happened. The time could soon come when Peking

¹ Lord Avon, former Prime Minister of Great Britain, served as joint chairman of the 1954 Geneva Conference on Far Eastern Affairs.

would not be embarrassed to exchange reflections with Washington, whether confidentially or otherwise. The United States has wisely shown a continued readiness to negotiate even after its opposite number declined the last round of talks. There is a fair chance that the Chinese will see in this an opening which could be useful.

VIETNAM WAR PRESENCE

It is not possible to approach the question of negotiation in Southeast Asia without regard to the events of the last fourteen years. With the passage of time, the mounting commitment and loss of life, all questions become more intense and harder to solve and it is necessary to get back to first principles. These are that the United States has no wish to establish any military presence anywhere in Indo-China, provided that North Vietnamese military forces are withdrawn from south of the demilitarized zone.

This condition is indispensable if South Vietnam is to be free to determine her own future, but it carries with it the terms of American disengagement. A comparable withdrawal on both sides from Laos has to be phased in with any Vietnamese agreement. If we are to get back to the 1954 Geneva Agreements for Vietnam, we have also to return to the 1963 Agreement for Laos.

The fighting in Laos may prove the most stubborn issue overlooking the negotiations. Here Russia has an obligation reaffirmed only six years ago. It can hardly be denied that the 50,000 North Vietnamese troops are in Laos in defiance of that engagement, or that the equipment and supply of these troops is only made possible through Soviet weapons and material aid.

The fact that Laos is as reluctant as Cambodia to receive any foreign troops upon her soil only emphasizes the ruthless cruelty of this violation of a contract. If Moscow wants to stay hostilities anywhere, here is an immediate claimant. There cannot be any settlement otherwise.

The neutralization of the area still remains the final objective, but this must be for the countries themselves to endorse and for the greater powers to guarantee. Meanwhile Ambassador Lodge is undoubtedly right to persevere with the problem of the demilitarized zones, whenever opportunity offers. These zones are a necessity in any scheme of withdrawal and offer some assurance for the fulfillment of any pledges given.

SECRET SESSIONS FRUITFUL

It is unlikely that any progress will be made in these or other matters as the outcome of publicized meetings. We certainly were unable to achieve anything at Geneva until, after many weeks, we moved into secret session. Even so, most difficulties had to be resolved by two and two in contacts which were not known to have taken place and could therefore be broken off or renewed without ceremony or loss of face.

If and when this stage is reached in the present negotiations, it will be important, assuming that the aim is to reach a settlement which can endure, to establish and maintain contact with the representatives of Peking, whose interest in the area will not fade.

KNOXVILLE, TENN.—A MOST BEAUTIFUL CITY

Mr. BAKER, Mr. President, more than 20 years ago John Gunther wrote a book in which he said Knoxville, Tenn., was the "ugliest city" in the world. No one knows how long Mr. Gunther was in Knoxville, but he has not been in the city since that time. Just the other day he reiterated his ugly-city statement on a nationwide television show, just at the time Knoxville was staging one of its most widely known events—and one of the most beautiful in the world—the Dogwood Arts Festival. People from all

over the country, and some from foreign countries, travel over the six trails which are literally alive with dogwood blooms. It is truly a magnificent festival which features—in addition to the trees, arts, and crafts—sporting events, a parade, and other events and monuments of beauty. Since Mr. Gunther's visit to the city, on the initiative of the citizenry and the local government, there have been carried out several urban renewal projects, construction of one of the finest auditorium-coliseum facilities in the country, erection of a beautiful mall in the center of the business district, completion of a unique promenade on which several business establishments are located, and creation of a "gay-way" on the city's main thoroughfare. In addition, and as a result of some of these activities, Knoxville was declared an All America City. At the time of his recent statement I reminded Mr. Gunther of the old adage: A foolish consistency is the hobgoblin of little minds.

Mr. President, I use this means to invite Mr. Gunther to revisit the city of Knoxville. I am confident that, once that is done, he will feel as many of us who know the city do—that it is one of the most beautiful cities in the world.

FOUNDERS DAY EXERCISES AT UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA

Mr. SPONG. Mr. President, on Monday of last week the University of Virginia celebrated the anniversary of Thomas Jefferson's birthday with its observance of Founder's Day. This year also marked the 150th anniversary of the university. It was my privilege to participate in these exercises.

Six Members of this body, among whom are the majority and minority whips, are alumni of the university. For us, Founder's Day has a special significance. However, I believe, all Members of the Senate will benefit from the remarks of Dr. Edgar F. Shannon, Jr., president of the University of Virginia, which eloquently place in perspective the forces that threaten higher education today.

I ask unanimous consent to have excerpts of Dr. Shannon's remarks printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the excerpts were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

EXCERPTS FROM REMARKS AT FOUNDER'S DAY EXERCISES, UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA, BY PRESIDENT EDGAR F. SHANNON, JR., APRIL 14, 1969

Thomas Jefferson was a revolutionary. Yet as one of the chief architects of what Julian Boyd has called "the most radical and irreversible revolution in history," he derived his conceptions not from fervid emotionalism but from a disciplined mind enlightened by the heritage of Western thought. The American revolution was radical and irreversible "because its moral proposition included the transfer of sovereignty from the hereditary ruler to the individual citizen." It was a revolution dedicated not to destruction but to the creation of a new order—"a new society based on the concept of the equality of man and governed by reason and justice." This, as Boyd has indicated, is the continuing rev-

olution that we in this country must steadfastly seek to fulfill. This is an enduring revolution, never yet fully achieved, but to be pursued with work and hope and not to be abandoned in despair and irrationality.

Like the new country, the new university that Thomas Jefferson brought into being here 150 years ago was a daring innovation. It was founded as the first true university in North America, and Jefferson aimed his secular university to develop leaders for practical affairs and public service. Devoted, in his own words, to "the illimitable freedom of the human mind"—the phrase that we have taken as the theme of the Sesquicentennial—the University of Virginia was conceived as a means of affording full opportunity for a continuously evolving aristocracy of talent and intellect instead of one, as in the old world, based upon wealth or accidents of birth. This university then has been committed from the beginning to the undergirding propositions of the republic—the equality of man and governance by reason and justice.

Freedom to teach and to learn, to seek the truth through rational inquiry, are the hallmark, not only of the University of Virginia, but generally of American colleges and universities. Through this freedom and truth have come the primary benefits to society. Now this freedom, often under attack from outside the universities, is currently being endangered by irrationality, even coercion and force from within the universities themselves. A minority, espousing methods that are the antithesis of the idea of a university, seem dedicated to the destruction of our society and appear to have marked the universities as their first targets of a campaign for chaos.

The basic principles of the University of Virginia were never more pertinent to our society than they are today. Jefferson spoke somewhat grandly of the University of Virginia as intended to be "the chief bulwark of the human mind in this hemisphere." Usually we have thought of this metaphor in the context of external forces, but never before in American higher education was there greater opportunity for the University of Virginia, along with all institutions of higher learning, to be an inner bulwark for the defense of freedom and liberty in our society.

Here at the University, in Mr. Jefferson's words, "we are not afraid to follow truth wherever it may lead, nor to tolerate any error so long as reason is left free to combat it." He would be the first to support our protection of orderly dissent. He would no doubt share the frustration that many of us feel over the realization that advanced societies now have the knowledge and technical means to solve the problems of poverty, health, and education but thus far have failed to do so. Yet he would be concerned, as we in this university must be, that reason remain the means by which we combat apparent error. Intolerance and fanaticism, rudeness and vulgarity cannot be allowed to supplant reason as the instrument of dissent. And dissent itself must not be so strident as to become a purely negative force that will rend the fabric of our institution and destroy our bright prospects for united and constructive effort.

This afternoon we honor Mr. Jefferson by honoring those among our faculty, students, and alumni who have excelled in developing the mind. We celebrate both those who by rational processes are qualifying themselves to take a leading part in "the continuing revolution" through orderly change, and those who have already been notable participants in the struggle to improve the condition of man. It is our privilege to salute those who have demonstrated in the words carved over our gateway—"the will to work for men."

TRIBUTE TO THE LATE MRS. LAU KUN, HAWAII SUCCESS STORY

Mr. FONG. It was my sorrowful task recently to say a fond farewell and eulogy to Mrs. Lau Kun, of Honolulu, Hawaii's beloved "Mama Lau." In the passing of Mama Lau, my island community lost a magnificent lady, for she lived a brave and beautiful life. She was an exemplary mother and grandmother of a fine family.

Once a poor immigrant girl from China, she overcame much to achieve much. By today's definition, she would be considered a "disadvantaged" person. Yet through her qualities of perseverance, diligence, and willingness to work hard, she overcame her disadvantages to become a true success in the American tradition.

Although she arrived in Hawaii an alien, she learned to love this country and became a naturalized citizen, her citizenship reflecting the true essence of America.

Although she had little formal education and spoke only Chinese when she came to Hawaii, she acquired the art of communicating most effectively and persuasively.

Although she was born poor, she labored long and ardently to improve her lot and that of her family. From a modest stall selling pork in a Honolulu market, she and her husband built, step by step, the largest supermarket chain in the 50th State.

Thus, in her own unique and colorful way, she personified many attributes which won the affection and admiration of thousands.

As one of the fortunate people who early came to know and love her, I was privileged to pay tribute to her life and memory at her funeral services on April 12. So that others may share in the inspiring example of her life, I ask unanimous consent to have the tribute printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the tribute was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

TRIBUTE TO THE LATE MRS. LAU KUN, HAWAII SUCCESS STORY

(By U.S. Senator HIRAM L. FONG)

Friends: We are gathered together today to pay tribute to one of Hawaii's truly grand ladies, Mrs. Lau Kun, also known as Mrs. Lau Soo Shee, and more affectionately known as—our beloved Mama Lau—who departed this mortal life last Tuesday, April 8.

With her beloved husband Lau Kun, her son Eddie, her daughter Joanna, her son-in-law Maurice Sullivan, and her nine grandchildren—whom she loved above all—we weep and we mourn, for it is difficult to reconcile ourselves to the loss of one who was so vibrant, so full of vitality and love of life during her long and active tenure on this earth.

And yet, as we dry our tears we realize that although this good and noble lady left us, she bequeathed to all of us a heritage that will endure as long as we do—and beyond.

It is with a full and grateful heart that I pay highest homage to Mama Lau today by reminding us all of the priceless legacy she has left behind.

It was in 1921 that Mama Lau came to Hawaii as a young girl, nearly half a century ago. In modern parlance, young Mrs. Lau Kun would have been considered a "disadvantaged person."

House of Representatives

TUESDAY, APRIL 22, 1969

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. Edward G. Latch, D.D., offered the following prayer:

My beloved brethren, be ye steadfast, unmovable, always abounding in the work of the Lord, for inasmuch as ye know that your labor is not in vain in the Lord.—I Corinthians 15: 58.

O Thou giver of every good and perfect gift, we are grateful for the opportunities for good which have been ours; for the love in our homes; for the fellowship of friends; for the freedom to worship as we desire, and for the happy experience of serving our country in this House of Representatives. Keep us ever alive with gratitude for Thy goodness to us.

Do Thou forgive our mishandling of some of Thy gifts—the opportunity neglected, the untruth accepted, the shallow judgment made, and the cynicism enjoyed. Forgive the unkind word, the unjust criticism, the false ambition, and every unworthy spirit which has reigned in our hearts.

May the light of Thy love and the triumph of Thy truth purify us and send us out into this day to be true to Thee, loyal to our country, and in love with our fellow men.

In the name of Him who reveals life to us we pray. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

A message in writing from the President of the United States was communicated to the House by Mr. Leonard, one of his secretaries.

PERMISSION FOR SUBCOMMITTEE ON PUBLIC LANDS, COMMITTEE ON INTERIOR AND INSULAR AFFAIRS, TO SIT DURING GENERAL DEBATE TODAY

Mr. ASPINALL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Subcommittee on Public Lands of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs be permitted to sit during general debate this afternoon.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Colorado?

There was no objection.

PRESIDENT NIXON'S SO-CALLED BUDGET CUTS

(Mr. ADDABBO asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. ADDABBO. Mr. Speaker, I am disturbed over President Nixon's so-called budget cuts, particularly the cold and callous cuts in the Veterans' Administration budget.

With the exception of the Defense Department and Health, Education, and Welfare, no other Department or agency budget was cut as much as the VA. The \$245 million cutback includes delays in structural improvements to VA hospitals as well as a veto on hiring needed medical care personnel.

The Nixon administration has jeopardized the entire program of veterans medical care by killing the VA's request for 4,700 new employees, most of them in the field of medical care.

Approximately 3,600 new employees in hospitals and VA outpatient clinics and another 500 in medical research were approved by the outgoing administration only to be rejected by the Nixon administration.

The Nixon administration has turned its back on the growing problem of crowded VA hospitals with long waiting lists and a shortage of doctors and medical assistants.

As a member of the House Appropriations Committee, I will make every effort to restore at least a part of this budget cut so that our veterans can be assured of adequate medical care.

MUTUAL SECURITY PROGRAM

(Mr. PASSMAN asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend his remarks and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. PASSMAN. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Nixon's request for foreign aid for fiscal 1970 exceeds Mr. Johnson's January request by \$19 million.

Mr. Nixon's request for mutual security funds exceeds the 1969 appropriation by \$959 million.

Mr. Speaker, it would appear that all Presidents in recent years have a way of getting hooked on foreign aid before the White House lights are turned off on inaugural night. They are willing to reduce requests for funds for justifiable projects in America but they always ask for increased funds for similar projects under foreign aid.

There are no ifs, no ands, and no buts. Mr. Nixon, in his revised budget, when the military assistance program is included, is asking for more foreign aid funds than did Mr. Johnson in January.

Mr. Speaker, the total funds requested for foreign aid and assistance for fiscal 1970, carried under 22 headings, total in excess of \$10,600 million. Stand by for recapitulation sheets covering totals, which will be placed in the Record in a few days.

The following recapitulation covers only one of 22 spigots of foreign aid and assistance:

MUTUAL SECURITY PROGRAM

Item	Fiscal year 1969 appropriation	January budget request, Johnson	Revised budget request, Nixon	Nixon request exceeds Johnson request by—	Nixon request exceeds 1969 appropriation by—
Economic assistance.....	\$1,380,600,000	\$2,320,800,000	\$2,285,000,000	-\$35,800,000	+\$904,400,000
Military assistance.....	375,000,000	375,000,000	430,000,000	+\$55,000,000	+\$55,000,000
Total.....	1,755,600,000	2,695,800,000	2,715,000,000	+\$19,200,000	+\$959,400,000

HAPPY BIRTHDAY TO TURNER ROBERTSON

(Mr. BOGGS asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, I take this time to extend birthday greetings and felicitations to one of our very hard workers, the chief page, Turner Robertson, who has completed over 30 years of service in the House of Representatives and I believe that all of us will join in wishing him a happy birthday.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BOGGS. I am happy to yield to the distinguished minority leader.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding, and

I join with the distinguished majority whip in extending Turner Robertson our very, very best wishes from this side of the aisle on this occasion.

I do not know which birthday in years, but a good one, I trust.

Mr. BOGGS. I thank the gentleman. I believe Turner Robertson is about 60, but he will not admit it.

FREEDOM OF INFORMATION FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

(Mr. MOSS asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. MOSS. Mr. Speaker, I have today introduced a bill to bring the government of the District of Columbia under

H 2831

the provisions of the Freedom of Information Act.

The legislation has a twofold purpose: It will bring about uniformity in the application of the information law at all levels of government in the Nation's Capital, and it will give the Mayor of Washington, the city council, and other officials a long-needed tool of statutory authority to disclose records and documents to the public—an affirmative authority they do not have at present.

It should be noted that the present officials of the District of Columbia, as in the case of their recent predecessors, have generally evidenced a desire to comply with the spirit of the freedom of information law. My amendment will strengthen their hand in the day-to-day implementation of a positive public disclosure policy.

THE NEW DIRECTION IS BACKWARD

(Mr. HAYS asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. HAYS. I have been reading in the public press about numerous occasions the minority leader and others have used the term "new direction" to exemplify this administration. It is very difficult when an object is standing still to figure out what direction it is going, so for the past 100 days I have been unable to ascertain what the "new direction" was. But in the last day or two I think I have been able to figure it out: the "new direction" is backward.

SUPPORT LAW ENFORCEMENT

(Mr. DORN asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, today I join my colleagues in introducing a resolution which would request the President to declare May 11 to 17 "Help Our Police Fight Crime Week."

Never in the history of our country has emphasis been needed more on supporting our police and law enforcement agencies as now. We hear of crime on the increase, riots and demonstrations on the campus, attacks on law-enforcement officers by hoodlums and demonstrators just because they are law officers sworn to do their duty.

Our policemen, patrolmen, sheriffs, deputies, and all law enforcement need the support of every good citizen. Law enforcement and law and order cannot be maintained without the support of the overwhelming majority of our people. It is fitting and proper that our Nation during these critical times pause to honor those men in uniform standing guard over our freedoms. The first line of American defense today against subversion, sabotage, and anarchy is through our local law officers. Their "lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor" are on the firing line for all of us.

Law enforcement is dedicated and devoted to the preservation of our way of life. They are devoted to democratic principles and ideals. They stand for

justice, order, and restraint as opposed to violence, crime, and chaos. With the support of good citizens, they can and will maintain law and order and preserve our time-honored democratic institutions.

I believe this resolution will pass the Congress unanimously, paying a just tribute to our men who preserve rule by law instead of rule by man.

THIRTY-ONE AMERICAN CITIZENS DEAD AS A RESULT OF NORTH KOREA'S PIRATICAL ACTION

(Mr. PEPPER asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, I am sure no Member of this House wishes to add anything to the onerous and awesome burdens which our President and our Government have to bear. I think all of us commend the action of the Chief Executive in giving notice that in the future our flights, although they are in international air space, will be protected by our Armed Forces.

But what I am troubled about, and what my mail and contacts with other citizens of this country indicate our people are concerned about, is whether we are going to just drop the matter of what our President termed a fourth-rate military power shooting down one of our planes which was not offending anybody, but was flying along unarmed in international air space, with 31 American citizens on that plane dead as the result of that piratical action.

The future is one thing, but those 31 men are dead. It would seem to me that the dignity of this country and the respect that we have for those men who give their lives would command that we do something surely to get some kind of redress for the families of these patriotic martyrs and redress which would deter North Korea or any other aggressor from offending in a similar way in the days and years ahead.

Mr. Speaker, surely recent history would compel anyone to understand that there is neither national honor nor national security in appeasing national brigands.

SALUTE TO PORK INDUSTRY IN NEBRASKA

(Mr. DENNEY asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. DENNEY. Mr. Speaker, meat-animal production and marketing in Nebraska is a very important part of the Cornhusker State's economy. Whether the primary or a secondary project of the Nebraska farmer, livestock production helps to provide his living and the livelihood of his fellow Nebraskans in related agricultural occupations.

Today I salute the pork industry in Nebraska. It has helped to meet the needs of a productive people, both in terms of providing a livelihood and in providing nourishment to citizens across the Nation.

On this Friday, April 25, the U.S. Department of Agriculture will report confirmed production figures for agriculture in Nebraska for 1967, and will present a preliminary report for 1968. These figures will indicate the most up-to-date evaluation of Nebraska's stake in the pork industry, and the pork industry's stake in Nebraska.

Since the beginning of our State a little more than a century ago, the production of swine has been a staple commodity of the farming programs of Nebraska farmers. During good livestock years, the porker helped the farmer to prosper; and during the years when the future of farming was placed in serious jeopardy, as likely as not it was the pig that kept the farmer from "going under."

Nebraska has a fine history of meat-animal production, ranking second of the 50 States in commercial slaughter in 1966. In no small part, this level of production was achieved by the number of swine raised and slaughtered in our State. Constituting a healthy percentage of Nebraska's cash receipts from farm marketings, the production of pork continues to make its valuable contribution to the stockman's wallet as well as the consumer's plate.

THE PROBLEM OF THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION

(Mr. FINDLEY asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, my good friend, the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. HAYS) expressed what I would term a certain wistfulness about the lack of action on the part of the Nixon administration, and it calls to my mind a story of ancient Greece, when Hercules was given the chore of cleaning out the Augean stables. The stables had been occupied for many years by several thousand horses without any cleaning. Hercules finally had to divert not one but two rivers to get the job done.

I mention this not to suggest that the previous administration consisted of horses or any part thereof, as a matter of fact, but simply urge a little bit of patience on the part of my good friend from Ohio.

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FINDLEY. I am glad to yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. HAYS. I would say to the gentleman that I am not impatient. He apparently just missed the import of my statement. I said that I heard all of these remarks about a new direction, and I feel without any movement it is impossible to tell what the direction is. That is all I was complaining about.

Mr. FINDLEY. But the gentleman certainly agrees that it would be well to get the stables cleaned out before we become too impatient.

Mr. HAYS. I do not believe that we had stables to start with, so therefore we are off on the wrong premise.

Mr. CEDERBERG. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Secretaries Week can serve as a reminder to conscientious secretaries that assuming a mastery of basic skills, loyalty, initiative, and accuracy are the most desired attributes of a good secretary.

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MORTON PRAISES PRESIDENT FOR CALM RESPONSE

HON. ROGERS C. B. MORTON

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 21, 1969

Mr. MORTON. Mr. Speaker, last week an old propeller aircraft, an unprotected Constellation converted into a reconnaissance plane, was shot out of the sky by North Korea.

All Americans were alarmed. Many urged the President to take immediate action, some called for military retaliation. The President kept his cool, however, and with it the cool and restraint of this great Nation of ours.

As the New York Times said in an editorial Saturday:

President Nixon has given a reasonable and responsible answer to the shameful North Korean attack on a United States reconnaissance plane. Galling as it is to all Americans to accept the loss of the plane and its 31-man crew, the President showed good sense in eschewing futile saber-rattling.

As the President has done so many times in the past, he studied all the facts, took account of the present situation, and took positive and firm action. His brief statement at his press conference on Friday told the entire world where our country stands on future flights and on future attacks. The President said:

I have today ordered that these flights be continued. They will be protected. This is not a threat; it is simply a statement of fact.

The President has acted with clarity and with purpose. Americans support him in that action and will support him in any necessary future action.

I think Saturday's Baltimore Sun clearly pointed out in an editorial the coolness of the President's action and the determination of his course. For the information of my colleagues, I include that editorial as part of my remarks:

WARNING GIVEN

Like the protest officially delivered to North Korea at Panmunjom, President Nixon's statement at his press conference on the shooting down of a naval reconnaissance plane was impressive for its restraint, a restraint appropriate to the seriousness of the incident. He emphasized the fact that the unarmed aircraft had not flown closer than 40 miles to the North Korean coast and he described the attack on it—90 miles from shore—as unprovoked, deliberate and without warning. He also made it very clear that these surveillance flights are regarded as necessary, and that they will be resumed, continued and from now on, protected.

Although Mr. Nixon declined to say what form the protection would take and was careful to note that his order for the protection was not a threat, the firmness with which he announced it can be interpreted as very plain notice to North Korea that it cannot halt the intelligence missions of United States planes over international waters and that any new attempts to interfere with those missions by force will be met by force.

That this is what might be called an interim decision is apparent from the President's assertion that "Looking to the future... what we will do will depend upon the circumstances." It will depend, he added, on what North Korea does, on "its reaction to the protest and also other developments that occur as we continue these flights." The incident of the EC121 is not finally disposed of. For the time being it is being left to diplomatic exchanges.

Obviously Mr. Nixon is trying to avoid any action that would worsen an already thoroughly bad situation. But he has told North Korea—an "unpredictable country," he said—that it will not be permitted to change the United States policy on aerial reconnaissance or to repeat its attack on our planes. Restrained as this message is, it carries an extremely sober warning.

A DISCUSSION OF THE U.S. POSITION WITH REGARD TO CHEMICAL AND BIOLOGICAL WARFARE

HON. ROBERT L. F. SIKES

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 21, 1969

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, the paper which I propose to include in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD is a restatement of the official U.S. position on chemical and biological warfare. I submit it in order to insure that Members of Congress may have correct and unbiased information on this subject:

A DISCUSSION OF THE U.S. POSITION WITH REGARD TO CHEMICAL AND BIOLOGICAL WARFARE

In recent weeks there has been increased comment and conjecture regarding the involvement of the U.S. in chemical and biological (CB) warfare, and speculation concerning the policies and purposes governing such involvement.

It is the policy of the U.S. to develop and maintain a defensive chemical-biological (CB) capability so that U.S. military forces could operate for some period of time in a toxic environment if necessary; to develop and maintain a limited offensive capability in order to deter all use of CB weapons by the threat of retaliation in kind; and to continue a program of research and development in this area to minimize the possibility of technological surprise. This policy on CB weapons is part of a broader strategy designed to provide the U.S. with several options for response against various forms of attack. Should their employment ever be necessary, the President would have to authorize their use. The U.S. does not have a policy that requires a single and invariable response to any particular threat. In the field of CB warfare, deterrence is the primary objective of the U.S.

CB weapons, in many situations, may be more effective than conventional (high explosive and projectile) weapons. Accordingly, it is believed wise to deter their use against our forces on populace. If two approximately equally effective military forces were engaged in combat, and one side initiated a CW operation, it would gain a significant advantage even if the opposing side has protective equipment. This advantage cannot be neutralized with conventional weapons.

As a matter of policy the U.S. will not be the first to use lethal chemical or biological weapons, but we are aware of the capabilities these weapons place in the hands of potential adversaries. For this reason it is important to carry on our R&D program in CB,

not only to provide necessary equipment, such as detection and warning devices, but to define and quantify more fully the potential threat to our country from these weapons, and the hazards involved if they are ever used against the U.S.

The threat to the U.S. civil population from CB attack has been studied by the Department of Defense, and these analyses are periodically up-dated. It is clear that the threat of CB attack is less significant than that of nuclear attack. For this reason, more emphasis has been placed in civil defense on the nuclear threat.

For logistic reasons, chemical agents do not appear to pose a major strategic threat against the U.S. For example, it would require many tons of nerve agent munitions to carry out an effective attack against a city of a few million people. This may appear inconsistent with the high toxicity of the nerve agents, but for many technical reasons such as the difficulty in disseminating the agents in vapor or aerosol form, the dilution of the agent in the atmosphere, and their impingement on ground and vegetation, it is correct. For this reason, stockpiles of therapeutic materials for nerve agents are not maintained. Although the possibility of the employment of biological weapons against U.S. population centers cannot be ruled out entirely, it does not presently warrant the priority given to defense against the effects of nuclear weapons. Research on methods of detecting and warning, identifying, and defending against biological attack are continuing, as is review of the magnitude and nature of the threat.

The Office of Civil Defense has developed an inexpensive but effective protective mask for civilian use, and a limited production run was made to test production quality. No large scale production was undertaken because of the low estimate of the threat as described above. Should the threat to our population increase, this mask could be produced quite rapidly and, together with other necessary defensive measures, would afford protection against both chemical and biological attack. Filtration systems have been designed and tested, and these could be added to fall-out shelters to afford collective protection for groups of people. In addition, many of the emergency plans developed by the Department of HEW for post-nuclear attack medical support would be applicable. The emergency packaged hospitals, for example, provide for expansion of hospital facilities by the equivalent of 2500 hospitals of 200 bed size.

Large stockpiles of medical supplies such as antibiotics and vaccines are not maintained against the possibility of biological attack. There is no specific antibiotic therapy available for most BW agents. As for vaccines, there are more than 100 possible BW agents, and production and administration of 100 vaccines to the U.S. population is not practical. There is medical reason to believe that such a program would be generally injurious to health in addition to requiring prohibitive expenditures.

Chemical detection and warning instruments which could provide the components for a national alarm system have been developed, but it has not seemed wise to expend the large sums to deploy them to build such a system. As noted above, we believe that the threat of strategic chemical attack is not great. Warning against biological attack is much more difficult technologically. Recently there has been success with a prototype instrument which would provide some biological warning capability. R&D efforts in this area will be continued.

U.S. Forces have the equipment required for protection against CB attack with the exception of a biological warning and detection device which is under development. Soldiers and sailors overseas have masks and protective clothing; and collective protection equip-

ment for vans and communication centers is being developed and supplied.

Statements have been made that there is enough nerve gas to kill 100 billion people. This kind of general statement is as "true" as saying that a test-tube in a hospital laboratory can contain enough disease microorganisms to kill 100 billion people. Neither statement is true in any real sense, and there is no way in which the human race could be destroyed with nerve agents. The U.S. could not launch an immediate, massive retaliatory chemical or biological attack. The technical capability to do this has been developed, but it has not been judged necessary or desirable to procure and install the weapon systems for this purpose. The carefully controlled U.S. inventories are adequate for tactical response against enemy military forces, but not for a strategic, nationwide attack.

The total U.S. expenditure in the CB field, including smoke, flame and incendiary weapons, is \$350 million for Fiscal Year 1969. There is no procurement of lethal chemical agents or of biological agents. Details of expenditures are given in the table below:

Chemical and biological expenditures, fiscal year 1969

Procurement:	Million
Smoke, flame, and incendiary	\$139
Riot control munitions	81
Herbicides	5
Defensive equipment	15
Total	240
R.D.T. & E.	
General and basic R. & D.	9
Offensive R. & D.	31
Defensive R. & D.	30
Test and evaluation	20
Total	90
Operation and maintenance	20

Of the \$90 million in R&D, about \$26 million is spent on contracts, primarily with industry. \$2 million is contracted to Universities for basic defensive investigations. Every attempt is made to use discretion in selection of contractors, and not to ask institutions to do work which might be contrary to their policies and purposes. For example, some years ago the advice of the Smithsonian Institution was sought in identifying a suitable institute to perform an ecological and medical survey of the Central Pacific area. As a result, they submitted a proposal, which was accepted. As a direct consequence of this work, there have been 45 papers written by Smithsonian scientists and published in the scientific literature. This has been a remarkably productive scientific investigation brought about by a coincidence of interests in the fauna of the area.

The Smithsonian Institution was never asked to do, nor did they do, any "military" chemical or biological warfare research. It carried out scientific investigations appropriate to its charter and objectives, and published the significant findings in the scientific literature. These results are available for use by any government agency, or by any nation or scientist wishing to do so.

U.S. forces have used riot control agents and defoliants (herbicides) in the Vietnamese conflict. These materials do not cause lethality in humans and, as former Secretary Rusk said, are not considered to be the type of materials prohibited by the Geneva Protocol of 1925.

The only riot control agent in use by U.S. Forces in Vietnam is CS, although CN was also authorized some years ago. Both are tear gases. There are no known verified instances of lethality by CS, either in Vietnam or anywhere else in the world where it has been used to control disturbances by many governments.

Of the herbicidal chemicals, there are none used in Vietnam to destroy vegetation

which have not been widely used in the United States in connection with clearing areas for agricultural or industrial purposes.

The term "defoliants" is often used because it properly describes the purpose of its use; that is, to remove leaves from jungle foliage to reduce the threat of ambush and to increase visibility for U.S. and Allied troops. This use of defoliants has saved many American and South Vietnamese lives.

Herbicides are also used in a carefully limited operation in South Vietnam to disrupt the enemy's food supply. It is limited to the attack of small and usually remote jungle plots which the VC or NVA are known to be using. Usually these plots are along trails or near their base camp areas. Each such operation is approved by the U.S. Embassy and the government of the Republic of Vietnam. Enemy caches of food, principally rice, are also destroyed when it cannot be used by the South Vietnamese. These limited Allied activities have never, in any single year, affected as much as one percent of the annual food output of South Vietnam.

To date surveys have shown no evidence of substantial permanent or irreparable damage from the viewpoint of the future development of South Vietnam, attributable to the defoliation effort. The Department of Defense has supported the Department of Agriculture in studies of herbicides in analogous areas, and in a base line study of the forests of Vietnam. Recently a study "Assessment of Ecological Effects of Extensive or Repeated Use of Herbicides" was done by Midwest Research Institute, and reviewed by a special committee of the National Academy of Sciences. It was judged by them to be an accurate and competent report. Last Fall, the Department of State, with Department of Defense participation, made a survey of the ecology of defoliated areas. One of the scientists who made this survey, Dr. Fred Tschirley from the Department of Agriculture, published his report in *Science*, Vol. 163, pp. 779-786, Feb. 21, 1969.

At the end of active combat, it appears probable that there will be agricultural and forestry activities and other programs which will aid the South Vietnamese people. The Department of Defense would cooperate with the Department of State and the U.S. Agency for International Development as necessary in accomplishing these. The Department of Defense supports the concept of a comprehensive study of the long-term effects of the limited defoliation program, and has endorsed, in principle, proposals by the American Association for the Advancement of Science for such a scientific study.

Every effort is made to assure that activities in CB do not pose hazards to the U.S. population. Strict safety practices are enforced at laboratories which do research on CB agents. Elaborate systems of air-tight hoods, air filtration and waste decontamination are employed. These precautions and procedures are reviewed by the U.S. Public Health Service as well as by our own safety experts. The equipment and building designs developed at the U.S. Army Biological Laboratories, for example, have been generally accepted throughout the world as the ultimate in safety for the investigation of infectious diseases.

With regard to the extremely unfortunate Skull Valley incident in which a number of sheep died, the exact chain of events is still not completely understood. A freak meteorological situation was probably a major contributing factor. This matter has been carefully reviewed by a special advisory committee appointed by the Secretary of the Army and chaired by the Surgeon General of the U.S. Public Health Service. This committee has made a number of recommendations concerning test limitations, toxicological and environmental investigations, added meteorological facilities, and a permanent safety committee. All of these recommendations are being followed.

Movement of chemical agents is governed by rules and procedures established by the Interstate Commerce Commission and the U.S. Public Health Service. The material is shipped in special containers; these containers are put on pallets if necessary and fully restrained, and an underlying layer of sand is used to reduce vibration and to absorb agent in the highly unlikely event of leakage. All shipments are accompanied by a trained escort detachment equipped with decontaminating and first aid equipment. Routes are carefully planned to avoid populated areas to the greatest extent possible; and, where they cannot be avoided, to move through them carefully and with as little delay as possible.

The precautions taken—the use of special trains, careful routing, controlled speeds, and other measures, make a train wreck extremely unlikely. However, even further steps are taken to minimize any hazard that might result from an accident. Buffer cars are included in the train, the escort detachment is distributed in different cars to provide prompt full-train coverage in emergencies, and transit time through populated areas is minimized. Although the agents are not inert, it is important to note that transported agents are neither volatile nor in the gaseous state. They are liquid, and the most volatile is about eight times less volatile than water. The containers are not under pressure, and nerve agents are rapidly rendered harmless by fire.

A succinct statement of the U.S. position on CB warfare was made in 1967 by then Deputy Secretary of Defense Cyrus Vance in testimony before the Disarmament Subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. A copy of the relevant portion of his testimony is attached.

The U.S. has consistently supported the Geneva Protocol of 1925, although it is not signatory to that document. The U.S. supported the Hungarian resolution in 1966 for all Nations to adhere to the principles of the Geneva Protocol. The New York Times for March 19, 1969 quoted President Nixon's instructions to the U.S. Delegation to the 18-Nation Disarmament Conference now meeting in Geneva. The relevant portion of his instruction is quoted below:

"Fourth, while awaiting the United Nations Secretary General's study on the effects of chemical and biological warfare, the United States delegation should join with other delegations in exploring any proposal or ideas that could contribute to sound and effective arms control relating to these weapons."

The Defense Department is fully in accord with mutual arms control efforts and supports them in every way possible. For example, members of my staff will join representatives of the State Department and Arms Control and Disarmament Agency in meetings in late April to assist the United Nations Secretary General's group of 14 consultant experts prepare a report to the Secretary General of the UN on the characteristics of CB weapons.

With regard to unilateral disarmament, it was pointed out above that CB weapons are, in many military situations, more effective than conventional weapons. Thus, a nation which lacked CB weapons and could not deter or counter their use would have to consider more extreme measures. Unilateral CB disarmament would reduce a nation's deterrent capability, it would decrease its response options, and it would ultimately seriously degrade its CB defensive capability.

STATEMENT BY THE HONORABLE CYRUS K. VANCE, DEPUTY SECRETARY OF DEFENSE, BEFORE THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON DISARMAMENT OF THE SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE, FEBRUARY 7, 1967

The Department of Defense has consistently supported measures aimed at achiev-

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for persons and corporations at all income levels. I think taxes, based on gross income, should be paid at a reduced rate, without this myriad of exemptions, deductions, adjustments and tax credits. If this approach were adopted, tax rates overall, would be lower for the great bulk of Americans. In many cases, the amount of income tax paid would not diminish, but at higher levels, the amount paid would substantially increase.

Because many of the special purposes served by the current myriad of special provisions have strong advocates in Congress, I doubt very much that a truly simplified tax structure can be adopted. In the alternative, I have urged members of the Ways and Means Committee to place high priorities on the following basic reforms within our present system.

1. The application of a minimum across the board income tax for persons earning above \$100,000 regardless of the nature or source of income above that amount.

2. A substantial increase in the individual tax exemption to \$1,200, so that a family of four earning \$7,000 a year would be taxed only on \$2,200 less deductions, credits and adjustments. The exemption for any family of four would be four times \$1,200 or \$4,800. Particularly at the lower end of the scale, this provision would eliminate a great deal of hardship which eventually gets heaped on the Government anyway, through social service expenditures.

3. The enactment of the Horton bills I have outlined above, which give to the working man and his family, and to the single individual, comparable tax breaks to those already afforded large corporations and wealthy taxpayers.

4. Closing or reducing many of the special provisions which have become tax havens for the very wealthy. This would be at least partially accomplished by enactment of a minimum tax on high incomes.

As your Congressman, I have tried to outline my concerns and my efforts in this very vital field. We cannot solve the tax-budget crises in all levels of government by going backward, that is by refusing to respond to the increased need for government services. No more than we would act to freeze the income potential of those engaged in agriculture at their present levels, or worse, at the level of ten years ago: no more than the government can ignore agriculture programs in order to pare down its budget, can we ignore the plain fact that efficient growth is as much a necessity for the public sector as it is for the private sector.

No, we cannot move backward, and we cannot stay where we are particularly in reference to the distribution of the tax burden in America. We must solve the tax crisis by returning to the original, sound theory of graduated federal income tax, and making it stick. I feel that the legislative steps I advocate would accomplish this purpose. I hope that I will have your support in winning enactment of a meaningful tax reform bill this year.

AK

PRESIDENT NIXON AND EC-121

(Mr. STEIGER of Wisconsin asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. STEIGER of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, once more President Nixon has done the hard but right thing. He has refused to be provoked into precipitous action by the barbaric actions of the Communist Government of North Korea, in shooting down a fleeing, unarmed plane over international waters. It would be the easy thing to order a retaliatory raid against a North Korean air base, or a North Korean harbor. It would be easy,

for that matter, to drop a 500 pounder down Kim Il Sung's smokestack. But, President Nixon made the courageous decision. He neither slipped into easy retaliation nor did he cave in to easy intimidation.

President Nixon's first concern was not a saber-rattling callup of the Air National Guard; his first concern was for possible survivors of the plane's crew. Determined to avoid empty posturing, President Nixon weighed the alternatives available and made the decision to protest the surprise attack and to protect future missions.

President Nixon refused to provide the propaganda base upon which the North Koreans could once again invade the South and tie down more American troops on the continent of Asia. There is no doubt of the President's intention to continue to assert America's interest in the Far East, but neither is there any doubt of the President's refusal to become involved in the shortsighted folly of easy retaliation.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted to:

Mr. FOLEY (at the request of Mr. MEEDS), on April 21, 1969, on account of official business.

Mrs. MAY (at the request of Mr. GERALD R. FORD), for today, and the balance of the week on account of official business for Department of Agriculture.

SPECIAL ORDERS GRANTED

By unanimous consent, permission to address the House, following the legislative program and any special orders heretofore entered, was granted to:

Mr. GONZALEZ, for 10 minutes, today; to revise and extend his remarks and to include extraneous matter.

Mr. PUCINSKI, for 1 hour, today; to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. DELLENBACK) to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous matter:)

Mr. POFF, for 15 minutes, on April 22.

Mr. PIRNIE, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. CONABLE, for 30 minutes, on April 22.

Mr. CUNNINGHAM, for 5 minutes, today.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. BURLISON of Missouri) and to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous matter:)

Mr. MCCARTHY, for 30 minutes, today.

Mr. FARBERSTEIN, for 30 minutes, on April 22.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

By unanimous consent, permission to extend remarks was granted to:

Mr. UTT in two instances and to include extraneous matter.

Mr. MADDEN.

Mr. RHODES, immediately following the message of the President on the internal revenue system and to include extraneous matter.

Mr. SAYLOR.

Mr. FEIGHAN during the debate on H.R. 514.

Mrs. GREEN of Oregon to extend her remarks during consideration of H.R. 514 in the Committee of the Whole today.

Mr. MATSUNAGA (at the request of Mr. BURLISON of Missouri) to extend his remarks and include extraneous matter during consideration of H.R. 8434, today.

Mr. QUIE, to include extraneous matter with his remarks on H.R. 514 in the Committee of the Whole today.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. DELLENBACK) and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. STEIGER of Wisconsin.

Mr. BELL of California.

Mr. QUILLIN in four instances.

Mr. MORTON in three instances.

Mr. RUMSFELD in three instances.

Mr. HALL.

Mr. HOSMER in two instances.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD.

Mr. WHALEN.

Mr. WYMAN in two instances.

Mr. SHRIVER in three instances.

Mr. DENNEY.

Mr. TAFT in two instances.

Mr. BIESTER.

Mr. SCHADEBERG.

Mr. SCHERLE in two instances.

Mr. CUNNINGHAM in three instances.

Mr. ASHBROOK.

Mr. BOB WILSON in two instances.

Mr. ZWACH.

Mr. GUDE.

Mr. LANDGREBE.

Mr. BUCHANAN in two instances.

Mr. ESHLEMAN in two instances.

Mr. BRAY in three instances.

Mr. HASTINGS.

Mr. BROTZMAN.

Mr. RHODES in five instances.

Mr. CRAMER.

Mr. NELSEN.

Mr. SKUBITZ in two instances.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. BURLISON of Missouri) to extend their remarks and to include additional matter in that section of the Record entitled "Extensions of Remarks":)

Mr. SCHEUER in two instances.

Mr. O'HARA.

Mr. EILBERG in five instances.

Mr. DADDARIO in three instances.

Mr. LONG of Maryland in three instances.

Mr. BOLAND in two instances.

Mr. GAYDOS in three instances.

Mr. GONZALEZ in six instances.

Mr. FRIEDEL in three instances.

Mr. MATSUNAGA.

Mr. OTTINGER.

Mr. DINGELL in two instances.

Mr. DIGGS in two instances.

Mr. GARMATZ.

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee in three instances.

Mr. FARICK in six instances.

Mr. NICHOLS.

Mr. FLOOD.

Mr. GRIFFIN.

Mrs. MINK.

Mr. VIGORITO.

Mr. FULTON of Tennessee in two instances.

Mr. MOLLOHAN in three instances.

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Mr. HAGAN in five instances.
Mr. PATTEN.
Mr. BYRNE of Pennsylvania.
Mr. CONYERS in three instances.
Mr. ASHLEY in two instances.
Mr. DENT in six instances.
Mr. MEEDS.

SENATE BILLS REFERRED

Bills of the Senate of the following titles were taken from the Speaker's table and, under the rule, referred as follows:

- S. 265. An act for the relief of John (Cio-vanni) Denaro; to the Committee on Judiciary.
S. 1531. An act for the relief of Chi Jen Feng; to the Committee on Judiciary.
S. 1625. An act for the relief of Gohg Sing Hom; to the Committee on Judiciary.

ENROLLED BILL SIGNED

Mr. FRIEDEL, from the Committee on House Administration, reported that that committee had examined and found truly enrolled a bill of the House of the following title, which was thereupon signed by the Speaker:

- H.R. 10158. An act to provide mail service for Mamie Doud Eisenhower, widow of former President Dwight David Eisenhower.

SENATE ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED

The SPEAKER announced his signature to enrolled bills of the Senate of the following titles:

- S. 458. An act for the relief of Yuka Awamura; and
S. 672. An act for the relief of Charles Richard Scott.

ADJOURNMENT

Mr. BURLISON of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 5 o'clock and 16 minutes p.m.), the House adjourned until tomorrow, Tuesday, April 22, 1969, at 12 o'clock noon.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

690. A letter from the Secretary of Defense, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to authorize the President to reappoint as Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, for an additional term of 1 year, the officer serving in that position on April 1, 1969; to the Committee on Armed Services.

691. A letter from the Assistant Secretary of Defense (Installations and Logistics), transmitting a report on military procurement actions for experimental, developmental, test, or research work negotiated under the provisions of 10 U.S.C. 2304(a) 11 and 2304(a) 16, for the period July-December 1968, pursuant to the provisions of 10 U.S.C. 2304(e); to the Committee on Armed Services.

692. A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting a copy of a letter from the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development concerning a recommendation made by the Comptroller

General in his report on Rossmoor Leisure World developments; to the Committee on Government Operations.

693. A letter from the Director, National Science Foundation, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to authorize appropriations for activities of the National Science Foundation, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Science and Astronautics.

PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 4 of rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. ADDABBO (for himself, Mr. ANNUNZIO, Mr. DENT, Mr. ROSENTHAL, Mr. MINNISH, Mr. POEHL, Mr. CLARK, Mr. HEBERT, Mr. PIKE, Mr. RODINO, Mr. GETTYS, and Mr. GALLAGHER):

H.R. 10283. A bill to amend the Merchant Marine Act, 1936, to encourage shipbuilding, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. BETTS (for himself, Mr. ICHORD, Mr. ASHBROOK, Mr. KING, and Mr. LUKENS):

H.R. 10284. A bill to amend the act of May 29, 1884, relating to the control and eradication of certain animal diseases; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. BIAGGI:

H.R. 10285. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to provide the same tax exemption for servicemen in and around Korea as is presently provided for those in Vietnam; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. BOLAND:

H.R. 10286. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to encourage higher education, and particularly the private funding thereof, by authorizing a deduction from gross income of reasonable amounts contributed to a qualified higher education fund established by the taxpayer for the purpose of funding the higher education of his dependents; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. CONTE:

H.R. 10287. A bill to authorize the U.S. Commissioner of Education to make grants to elementary and secondary schools and other educational institutions for the conduct of special educational programs, and activities concerning the use of drugs, and for other related educational purposes; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. EDMONDSON:

H.R. 10288. A bill to amend the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended, and for other purposes; to the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy.

By Mr. EILBERG:

H.R. 10289. A bill to amend title 38 of the United States Code to increase to \$30,000 the maximum servicemen's group life insurance which may be provided members of the uniformed services on active duty, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

H.R. 10290. A bill to amend section 1682 of title 38 of the United States Code to increase the rate of educational assistance allowance paid to veterans under such section; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mr. FARBERSTEIN:

H.R. 10291. A bill to amend title XVIII of the Social Security Act to include dental care, eye care, dentures, eyeglasses, and hearing aids among the benefits provided by the insurance program established by part B of such title; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. FOREMAN:

H.R. 10292. A bill to prohibit the dissemination through interstate commerce or the mails of materials harmful to persons under the age of 18 years, and to restrict the exhibi-

tion of movies or other presentations harmful to such persons; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. FRIEDEL:
H.R. 10293. A bill to amend part I of the Interstate Commerce Act, as amended, to authorize railroads to publish rates for use by common carriers; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania:
H.R. 10294. A bill to reclassify certain positions in the postal field service, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. FUQUA (for himself and Mr. BROTHILL of Virginia):

H.R. 10295. A bill to amend the Healing Arts Practice Act, District of Columbia, 1928, regulating the practice of the healing art in the District of Columbia, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. GILBERT:
H.R. 10296. A bill to amend title XVIII of the Social Security Act to authorize payment under the program of health insurance for the aged for services furnished an individual by a home maintenance worker (in such individual's home) as part of a home health services plan; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. GILBERT (for himself, Mr. BURKE of Massachusetts, Mr. FULTON of Tennessee, Mr. CORMAN, Mr. WILLIAM D. FORD, Mr. BLANTON, Mr. MOORHEAD, Mr. CHARLES H. WILSON, Mr. KARTH, Mr. ROONEY of Pennsylvania, Mr. MURPHY of Illinois, Mr. BIAGGI, Mr. OLSEN, Mr. DELANEY, Mr. ST. ONGE, Mr. ANDERSON of California, Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey, Mr. LEGGETT, Mr. WOLFF, Mr. ST. GERMAIN, Mr. DANIELS of New Jersey, and Mr. FRIEDEL):

H.R. 10297. A bill to amend the Merchant Marine Act, 1936, to encourage shipbuilding, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. GUBSER:

H.R. 10298. A bill to establish the Inter-agency Committee on Mexican-American Affairs, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

H.R. 10299. A bill to provide for improved employee-management relations in the Federal service, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. HOWARD (for himself, Mr. HATHAWAY, Mr. HANLEY, Mr. MIRVA, Mr. HELSTOSKI, Mr. BLATNIK, Mr. KLUCZYNSKI, and Mr. HICKS):

H.R. 10300. A bill to amend the Merchant Marine Act, 1936, to encourage shipbuilding, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. JONES of Tennessee:

H.R. 10301. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to increase from \$600 to \$1,200 the personal income tax exemptions of a taxpayer (including the exemption for a spouse, the exemption for a dependent, and the additional exemptions for old age and blindness); to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 10302. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to impose additional limitations on tax-exempt foundations and charitable trusts; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. KARTH:

H.R. 10303. A bill to amend subchapter III of chapter 83 of title 5, United States Code, relating to civil service retirement, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

H.R. 10304. A bill to reclassify certain positions in the postal field service, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. KYROS:
H.R. 10305. A bill to provide for improved employee-management relations in the



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PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 91st CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

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No. 63

Senate

The Senate was not in session today. Its next meeting will be held on Tuesday, April 22, 1969, at 12 o'clock meridian.

House of Representatives

MONDAY, APRIL 21, 1969

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.
The Chaplain, Rev. Edward G. Latch, D.D., offered the following prayer:

The Lord thy God bless thee in all the work of thine hand which thou doest.—Deuteronomy 14: 29.

O Lord, our God, whose glory is in all the world and whose goodness shines in all that is fair, we commit ourselves and our country to Thy merciful care; that being guided by Thy spirit we may learn to dwell together in Thy peace and to live by Thy laws.

Grant that the work of this day may be in accordance with Thy will. Give to us health of body, clarity of mind and strength of spirit that we may do what we have to do with all our hearts.

Deliver us from the fear that destroys, from the futility that deadens, and from the frustration that discourages us. Do Thou help us to work to make our dreams come true and to dream to make our work worth doing.

Keep our Nation strong in Thee. Let us walk and work together humbly and in all good will that in faith and freedom Thy glory shall be revealed in every effort we make to share in the work of the world: through Jesus Christ by whose life we have been redeemed. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

The Journal of the proceedings of Thursday, April 17, 1969, was read and approved.

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

A message in writing from the President of the United States was communicated to the House by Mr. Geisler, one of his secretaries.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate by Mr. Arrington, one of its clerks, announced

that the Senate had passed without amendment a bill of the House of the following title:

H.R. 10158. An act to provide mail service for Mamie Doud Eisenhower, widow of former President Dwight David Eisenhower.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed bills of the following titles, in which the concurrence of the House is requested:

S. 265. An act for the relief of John (Giovanni) Denaro;

S. 1531. An act for the relief of Chi Jen Peng; and

S. 1626. An act for the relief of Gong Sing Hom.

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY—REQUEST FOR PERMISSION TO SIT

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on the Judiciary may have permission to sit during general debate Tuesday, April 22.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Colorado?

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, has the gentleman cleared this with the ranking minority member of the committee? If so, he has not communicated with me.

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. I have not communicated with him. However, this comes under an understanding that was had that the committee would again resume its executive session in connection with the electoral college. That is the matter before us.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. I am in full accord with affirmative action in this important area, but I think it is wise that we always assume when a request is made that there has been no problem about clearing it with the ranking minority member. I would respectfully request that the gentleman defer this until at

least I have been notified that there is no problem as far as our ranking Republican member is concerned.

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. I do not know if he has any objection.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. I have to be sure and positive.

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. Here is Mr. Poff now.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. And I think it is good policy that we know in advance that we have had this cleared. Therefore I would respectfully request that the gentleman defer his request.

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. I will withdraw my request for the time being, Mr. Speaker.

REPRESENTATIVE FRIEDEL INTRODUCES BILL AIMED AT FOSTERING COMPETITION IN FREIGHT TRANSPORTATION

(Mr. FRIEDEL asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, I am introducing today a bill—aimed at fostering competition in freight transportation and thereby easing the grave national small shipment problem—to amend part I of the Interstate Commerce Act, as amended, to authorize railroads to publish rates for use by common carriers.

Among common carriers, we have freight forwarders, railway express companies, and motor carriers who are intended to serve the small shipment public. To a large extent inequities in present law have inhibited constructive competition for this business and service has badly deteriorated.

This bill will permit railroads to publish reduced rates, that reflect economies resulting from efficient collection, consolidation, and distribution, for shipments directed to railroads for line haul carriage by other common carriers.

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Resultant economies should benefit small shipment senders and receivers and thereby serve the national interest.

PELLEY URGES INVESTIGATION OF PRO-ARAB EXTREMIST GROUPS IN UNITED STATES

(Mr. PELLEY asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. PELLEY. Mr. Speaker, I am concerned about what is said to be the growth of extremist hate groups in the United States and this, it appears to me, deserves investigation by Congress.

In the 90th Congress, the House Internal Security Committee issued an excellent report on the Ku Klux Klan which was prepared after an extensive investigation. It seems to me that in light of recent activities by some extremist groups in this country in support of the Arab guerrilla attacks on Israel, a similar investigation by the Internal Security Committee is called for.

According to information which appeared in the New York Times, these extremist groups are mobilized throughout our country. For example, in Detroit, a drive on behalf of the Al Fatah is being conducted by the Wayne State University chapter of the Organization of Arab Students, described as "sometimes in concert with the youth group of the Trotskyite Social Workers Party." In Philadelphia, the militant Labor Forum, an arm of the Socialist Workers Party, sponsored a pro-Arab, pro-Fatah program, on March 14. The same thing has occurred in New York City where it is reported that Al Fatah guerrillas received substantial and favorable treatment in the official publication of the Black Panther Party and a periodical of the Black Muslim movement.

Mr. Speaker, Americans deserve to know the full implications of such extremist support in their country for such a group as the Al Fatah which is admittedly and continually causing death and destruction to the peoples of Israel. In the interest of peace in the Middle East, I urge an investigation as soon as possible so that the public can learn the truth about cooperation between U.S. extremist elements and the Al Fatah.

PRESIDENT'S DECISION TO INSURE FUTURE U.S. RECONNAISSANCE FLIGHTS ADEQUATE PROTECTION

(Mr. BUSH asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. BUSH. Mr. Speaker, I heartily concur with the President's decision to see that future U.S. reconnaissance flights receive adequate protection. Timidity in responding to such unprovoked, criminal action in not consistent with American tradition. The President's action thus seems a clear affirmation that we will not be blackmailed into terminating these flights.

As the evidence clearly shows, the North Korean downing of our plane was a deliberate attack upon a plane flying in international air space. Because the danger of similar future attacks on Ameri-

can planes does exist, I think the President's recourse is a vitally necessary one.

It is imperative that we afford our men this protection that President Nixon has advocated so that senseless and unnecessary sacrifice of American lives can be avoided in the future.

The President has indicated through protecting our flights, that future aggression against our flights will meet with retaliation. This is as it should be. It is tough to conclude that the outrageous North Korean leaders responsible for this murderous attack understand anything but force.

PRESIDENT NIXON'S RESTRAINT DURING PLANE INCIDENT LAUDED

(Mr. BROWN of Ohio asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I want to take this occasion to express my full approval of the way President Nixon has handled the piratical action of North Korea in shooting down an unarmed American reconnaissance plane over international waters last Monday, killing 31 crewmen. The President has responded with calm, reasoned restraint in the face of this new example of aggression by a country which has long flouted international law. He has won the support of foreign governments and Members on both sides of the aisle in this body.

The President said at his news conference last Friday that reconnaissance flights of the type taken by the ill-fated EC121 had been going on for 20 years. Such flights are vital to our national defense interests. Every diplomat or military commander wants all the intelligence he can get and in this critical time, the flights should be continued. But American men in uniform cannot continue to be subject to the mortal risks of such irresponsible harassment. The President wisely decided such flights must be continued under the protection of units of the American Pacific Fleet which he has ordered into the Sea of Japan.

Mr. Speaker, the President called North Korea a bandit nation which was controlled neither by Communist China nor the Soviet Union. That country's action in shooting down a unarmed American plane 100 miles at sea was an irresponsible outrage which no nation adhering to the basic tenets of international law could support. Let us hope that by placing North Korea on notice that any future acts of aggression against American forces operating in international waters or airspace will not go unanswered. Hopefully, those with rational common-sense will prevail over the hotter heads in Pyongyang and see that North Korea adopts a manner of conduct consistent with civilized practices. Otherwise, America will be required to defend itself and every peace-loving nation in the world will sympathize with that grim necessity.

PERMISSION FOR COMMITTEE ON INTERSTATE AND FOREIGN COMMERCE TO SIT DURING GENERAL DEBATE TODAY

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee

on Interstate and Foreign Commerce may be permitted to sit during general debate today.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

The SPEAKER. The Chair lays before the House a message from the President of the United States.

CALL OF THE HOUSE

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Speaker, I make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER. Evidently a quorum is not present.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I move a call of the House.

A call of the House was ordered.

The Clerk called the roll, and the following Members failed to answer to their names:

(Roll No. 38)		
Anderson, Ill.	Frelinghuysen	Nix
Anderson, Tenn.	Fulton, Tenn.	Ottinger
Annunzio	Galifianakis	Patman
Ashbrook	Gallagher	Podell
Baring	Gray	Powell
Barrett	Green, Pa.	Furcell
Bates	Griffiths	Quile
Bell, Calif.	Halpern	Reid, N.Y.
Bingham	Harsha	Ronan
Blatnik	Hébert	Rooney, Pa.
Boggs	Jarman	Rosenthal
Brasco	Jonas	Rostenkowski
Brock	Karsh	Roudebush
Brooks	Kirwan	Rumsfeld
Brotzman	Landrum	St. Onge
Brown, Calif.	Leggett	Sandman
Byrne, Pa.	Long, La.	Scheuer
Cahill	Long, Md.	Sikes
Casey	Lowenstein	Sullivan
Celler	McClory	Symington
Chisholm	McCloskey	Teague, Calif.
Clancy	Macdonald,	Teague, Tex.
Cowger	Mass.	Thompson, Ga.
Davis, Ga.	MacGregor	Tunney
Dawson	Mahon	Ullman
Delaney	Martin	Vanik
Dwyer	May	Watkins
Eckhardt	Mayne	Watson
Edwards, La.	Meskill	Watts
Fallon	Milka	Whalley
Fish	Mollohan	Whitall
Flood	Monagan	Wilson, Bob
Flynt	Morse	Wilson,
Foley	Morton	Charles H.
	Moss	Wydler
	Murphy, N.Y.	Zwach

The SPEAKER. On this rollcall 327 Members have answered to their names, a quorum.

By unanimous consent, further proceedings under the call were dispensed with.

REFORM OF OUR FEDERAL INCOME TAX SYSTEM—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES (H. DOC. NO. 91-103)

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will read the message from the President of the United States.

The following message from the President of the United States was read and referred to the Committee on Ways and Means and ordered to be printed:

To the Congress of the United States:

Reform of our Federal income tax system is long overdue. Special preferences in the law permit far too many Americans to pay less than their fair share of

April 18, 1969

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CONGRESSIONAL RECORD - Extensions of Remarks

observers, this part of the dispute is less important than the philosophy of national security that tempers our national decision. Some of the experts, it is suspected, have their technical opinions warped, to one degree or another, by what even Donald Brennan cannot define as anything but "attitude."

Dr. Brennan, who hails from the Hudson Institute and pleads for an ABM, does not believe our defense effort involves any kind of unending spiral or arms race. He says it ain't necessarily so. If we think the United States must be able to kill 4,000,000 Russians and if they put up an ABM that will prevent us from doing it, then the answer is that we must increase our offensive forces. That's what Secretary McNamara set out to do, and it is not unreasonable to charge that he was escalating. To Dr. Brennan, it would make more sense to deploy an ABM and forget about this fixation that we have to kill a certain number of Russians. The idea is to deter a Russian attack on the United States, and this is one of the reasons President Nixon and the Strategic Air Command, to mention only two adherents of the idea, believe peace is the mission of the Defense Department.

It was about two years ago, at the Air Force Association Convention in San Francisco, that AFA adopted a Statement of Policy taking issue with the McNamara thesis that more missiles and warheads, "a solution advanced by the same leaders who have repeatedly warned against provoking an arms race," would prove our salvation. AFA looked at the "electromagnetic shield-type defense," an ABM tool that Russia had tested with high-altitude nuclear explosions denied to us under terms of the nuclear test-ban treaty and expressed concern about the vulnerability of our ICBMs.

"We are concerned," the AFA Statement said then, "about the possibility of a Soviet antiballistic missile system which would not permit our warheads to reach their targets."

That was in 1967. The last posture statement offered by Secretary McNamara was the one that accompanied the current, Fiscal 1969, budget. It cannot be interpreted as anything but a plea for Congress to accept a standard of parity with the Russians in strategic strength. There was no disposition to do this on Capitol Hill, and Mr. McNamara later endorsed the "thin" ABM, which he said was designed to deter the Chinese, if not the Russians.

Incidentally, Mr. McNamara estimated that a "relatively small number of warheads detonated over fifty Chinese cities would destroy half the urban population (more than fifty million people) and more than onehalf of the industrial capacity." This, certainly, contributed to his credibility gap. For our strategic arsenal, the job should be easy.

Returning to the Senate, it is interesting to note that Edward M. Kennedy of Massachusetts, brother of John and Robert Kennedy and a close personal associate of Robert McNamara, is in the forefront of the effort. As Democratic Whip, potential presidential rival of Mr. Nixon in 1972, and darling of the New Left in his own party, Mr. Kennedy is in a position to make political capital out of the ABM dispute.

He started on February 19 by declaring that the review of ABM promised by the Nixon Administration would not be dispassionate, exhaustive, and conclusive. His remedy is to ensure a dispassionate, exhaustive, and conclusive study by commissioning Dr. Jerome B. Wiesner of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and Professor Abram Chayes of Harvard to write a report.

Now Dr. Wiesner and Professor Chayes both worked for the Kennedy Administration, as scientific and legal advisers. They are known opponents of the Sentinel system which explains why "Meet the Press," which is under some compulsion to present both

sides of a public question, had them on the air March 9, a week after Senator Jackson's appearance. In that program, Dr. Wiesner said flatly that Sentinel "won't work" and that his report on the subject for Mr. Kennedy will come from people who are "not part of the bureaucratic machinery," such as he and Professor Chayes were only a few years ago. They made it clear to the TV audience that their dispassionate study starts with the consideration that military men have been making the weapons decisions for too long. Dr. Wiesner says the decisions should result from considerations that go through the "responsible democratic process." He did not say which process he thought was in effect during the Kennedy and Johnson years. It was in that period that the proved military decision-making process, involving weapon evaluation and source-selection board procedures, was brushed aside, to the distress of men in uniform. If Dr. Wiesner has met Dr. Alain Enthoven, the Pentagon's recent, unlamented Assistant Secretary for Systems Analysis, he did not betray it. He did, however, make the flat statement that our Minuteman silo installations, whose operational readiness is the responsibility of the Air Force, do not need ABM protection "at this time."

Another major political angle to the ABM controversy centers around a number of congressional committees and their jurisdiction. A key figure is Senator Stuart Symington of Missouri, a former Secretary of the Air Force, now a member of both the Armed Services and Foreign Relations Committees.

New Chairman of the Armed Services Committee is Senator John Stennis of Mississippi. In moving to the position, he would, under normal circumstances, be expected to surrender his post as Chairman of the Preparedness Investigating Subcommittee. He did not. Mr. Stennis has retained that chair and, in doing so, has prevented Senator Symington from advancing to the seat.

Mr. Symington is opposed to the ABM program. He told the Senate recently, with a straight face, that the cost of this program could exceed \$400 billion, a figure that is four or five times the most extravagant thus far suggested. Senator Stennis has announced that the full Armed Services Committee will examine the ABM issue, and he has promised to hear from both sides in the dispute.

In the face of this, Senator William Fulbright, of Arkansas, also a foe of ABM, has named a subcommittee of his Foreign Policy Committee "to make a detailed review of the international military commitments of the United States and their relationship to foreign policy." The chairman of the subcommittee: Senator Symington.

The lineup here has brought the comment from at least one Capitol Hill sophisticate that there is an accident loose, waiting for a time to happen. Mr. Stennis feels strongly that the ABM question is in his jurisdiction. The appearance of Mr. Symington at the head of a Foreign Policy inquiry that seems surely destined to get into military affairs—the ABM as well as other issues—does not rest well with the veteran from Mississippi.

The Fulbright insistence that ABM is a matter of concern to him was brought out at the February 20 session, where Mr. Laird testified. The subject of the hearing was the Nonproliferation Treaty, but the testimony dealt with this only in a passing sense. Mr. Fulbright used the meeting to probe the ABM issue. This performance was repeated on March 6 when a Fulbright subcommittee on disarmament held a hearing on the Sentinel system. It was chaired by Senator Albert Gore of Tennessee.

On top of this, the House Armed Services Committee will hold hearings, as will also a Subcommittee on National Security Policy and Scientific Developments of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs. It is headed

by Representative Clement J. Zablocki of Wisconsin.

Other committees that will take a look at Sentinel are the Joint Atomic Energy Committee, and the defense appropriations subcommittees of both houses.

While President Nixon was struggling with this, his first major encounter with a volatile issue, both Congress and the press continued to seethe. The output is almost exclusively anti-ABM; much of it is vituperative, and too much of it, in the political arena, is demagogic.

Of course, a major stimulant behind the congressional outbreak, in addition to the general uprising against military opinion, is the reaction of alarmed constituents over the location of Sentinel sites near some cities.

There have been town meetings, in places like Boston and Chicago and Libertyville, Ill., where the citizenry is asked to express an opinion, and listen to a great many of them. On the basis of what they read and hear, in the circumstances described above, they cannot be blamed for not knowing more about the requirement for an ABM and the capability of the Army's proposed system. The indignation, then, finds its roots in the alleged peril of having nuclear weapons in the neighborhood. It remains a fact that some of these sites have been housing the earlier Nike system, and nuclear warheads have been nesting there for several years. There is no record of any nuclear device having been triggered accidentally, and there is nothing new about this ABM that should alter that record.

It is fortunate that, unlike people, weapons know no emotional stress.

[From the Washington Post, Apr. 12, 1969]
SENATE FOES OF ABM RESEMBLE U.S. ISOLATIONISTS OF THE 1930's
(By William S. White)

The new isolationists of the Senate are attacking more than the anti-ballistic missile system and more even than the whole philosophy of adequate military preparation in a world where danger still manifestly lives.

They are challenging the very realities of the present in a headlong retreat to a past which even after all this time they still cannot understand. They are in fact turning the clock back by three decades to the late Thirties, when the old isolationists were all but disarming this country while Hitlerism was visibly rising in Europe. And what of today? The current Chinese Communist Party Congress shows military extremists, even by the standards of that already bellicose power, moving into even higher positions of influence.

The new words of the new isolationists, of such as Senators Mike Mansfield and William Fulbright, and Edward Kennedy, have the same old meaning, as the words of the old isolationists of the distant yesterday. Now, in the late Sixties, the assault is nominally upon President Nixon's decision—and President Johnson's before him—to build a minimal ABM against the confirmed and the undeniable reality of far bigger Soviet work in this field. Actually, it is an assault upon fundamental and bipartisan national policies going back through four previous Administrations and based upon the conviction that a great power must deal from positions of strength and realism rather than of vague hope and amiable weakness tied to good intentions.

Then in the late Thirties, the old isolationists were nominally attacking the alleged excessive profits of the manufacturers of the weapons of defense, and in truth attacking the whole philosophy of national strength as the best deterrent to war.

Those who remember those days should have no difficulty in seeing how the wheel has turned full circle. The old isolationist Sen. Gerald Nye operated a prolonged and

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kleig-lit circus of a "Senate investigation," aided and shepherded by the best "public relations" men then in the business, against those he was pleased to call "the Merchants of Death."

Today's new isolationists are no less rich in assistance from modern "public relations" types, who see the contemporary equivalents of "Merchants of Death" in those who will—one profoundly hopes—ultimately erect an ABM shield, and also even in those senior officers who wear the uniforms of the United States.

It was in its effect, in its sentimentalism, and emotional demagoguery, a huckster's game in Nye's time, no matter how honest in motive it may have been. It is in effect a similar game now, no matter how "sincere" may be the new isolationist-semi-pacifist group now gathered about Mansfield and Fulbright and Kennedy and the rest.

Nye got the headlines then; for then as now it was infinitely easier to repeal war and danger than to defend the hard necessity for national preparation, with its inevitable corollary of national sacrifice. The new isolationists get the headlines now. For who would not rather hear promises of more and more goodies at home, accompanied by more and more "peace" abroad, than stolid warnings of the harsh actualities of our time?

Three decades ago the old isolationists seized and captured all the "good" and soothing words; today the new isolationists have seized and captured all the "good" and comforting words.

The Senate swarmed then, as it swarms now, with "advisers" and "experts" and "scientists" eager to put private judgment resting most of all on mere private hope against the tough evidence of professional intelligence. No "public relations" types now assist the pro-ABM men; none were at hand 30 years ago for those other men who bravely struggled, until it was almost too late, to dispel evangelistic emotionalism and good-guy rhetoric from the somber councils of the Nation.

NORTH KOREAN AGGRESSION

HON. JOSEPH M. GAYDOS

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 17, 1969

Mr. GAYDOS. Mr. Speaker, with the lingering memories of the shameful *Pueblo* incident still fresh in the minds of Americans, our country has suffered another outrageous attack by North Korea when they wantonly destroyed one of our military aircraft in which the lives of 31 Americans were taken.

We cannot afford to stand idly by and permit these unprovoked assaults with impunity. Diplomatic protest and exhaustive oratory will not bring back 31 American lives, nor will it deter any future hostile acts. Insurance against these contemptible acts of aggression can only be realized by immediate, firm, and positive action.

Last fall in Miami, Mr. Nixon promised prompt and effective reaction to such incidents and pledged that the American flag will not be a doormat for anybody at home or abroad.

North Korea has just wiped her feet on the American flag. Millions of Americans hope Mr. Nixon's pledge will be honored.

DELAY IN U.S. DISTRICT COURTS

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, April 18, 1969

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, we are all familiar with Gladstone's famous maxim: "Justice delayed is justice denied." It often occurs, however, that a well-known phrase, repeated many times over the years, will be reduced in men's minds to a mere cliché. When this happens, the substance is lost, regardless of how valuable and profound the original thought had been.

I fear that this is partially true of the above phrase. We can all quote it glibly, but can we really understand how it has its application to an individual case? Do we really have any concept of the hardships that can arise under an unwieldy system of justice? I think that in many cases we do not, and it is for this reason that I ask unanimous consent that a letter I have recently received from Mr. John Harding Ballance be printed in the RECORD. The contents should be of genuine interest to all concerned.

I wish to make it clear that I am in no way judging the merits of his case, since I do not have access to all of the facts involved, nor do I attempt to influence the outcome in any way. Rather, my only objective is to show the Senate and the American people how an individual citizen may be affected when justice is delayed.

I am calling this matter to the attention of the Subcommittee on Improvements in Judicial Machinery and the Attorney General of the United States for their consideration.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HON. STROM THURMOND,
United States Senator, Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR THURMOND: As one of your constituents who has had the pleasure of knowing you for many years as a customer in the Holloway House, I feel that I must call the deplorable condition that exists in our courts to your attention, based upon my own personal experience.

On March 25, 1966, I was beaten by the parking lot manager for Parking Management, Inc. at 742—13th Street, N.W. in an entirely unprovoked attack. The manager was merely transferred to another lot and when I learned this I had my attorney, William A. Mann, 308 Colorado Building, Washington, D.C., file suit against Parking Management, Inc. This was done promptly.

On January 9, 1969, I was advised to have my three witnesses and my doctor to be ready for trial. I did this and was advised later in the day that the case would be reset due to no judges being available. This performance was repeated on two or three occasions during January and February 1969 causing a full day's loss and overtime pay for my day manager.

Finally, I was advised that the case was scheduled for trial on March 3, 1969. I kept my day manager on duty for every day last week at considerable expense plus having three witnesses standing by each morning at 9:30 a.m. We were told around 10:30 each day that no civil judge was available but

were also told to be ready at 1:30 p.m. in the afternoon. My attorney, to my personal knowledge, was forced to delay other trials scheduled in the courts of Maryland and the General Sessions Court of the District of Columbia, as well as cancel several depositions previously scheduled in Maryland and the District of Columbia.

On Friday, for example, my attorney had very important clients flying in from London, England but was forced to call the U.S. District Court Assignment Office frequently and it was not until 3:00 p.m., Friday that we were told that we were free until Monday, March 10, 1969. The same thing has happened on Monday, Tuesday and today, March 10, 11 and 12, 1969. Until 3:00 p.m. each day I was forced to have three witnesses standing by and was forced to again keep my day manager on duty overtime. My attorney, when I became very upset, explained to me that only the retired judges sat on civil cases in the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia and that they were free to pick and choose the cases they would hear. Finally, I was told by my attorney on Wednesday that the Assignment Office would try to get a criminal judge to hear my case. As of 2:00 p.m., Wednesday, March 12, 1969, we are still standing by. I am scheduled for an operation Saturday morning.

Senator, I can afford this but what about a seriously injured man trying to obtain his day in court. It makes justice a mockery.

If your Senate Judiciary Committee subpoenaed personnel from the Assignment Office of the U.S. District Court it would seem that the real truth as to why these conditions exist could be determined. I have learned that the actual trial days each of these judges sit on the bench and hear cases in both the U.S. District Court and the General Sessions Court is a national disgrace. My informant also said that they would explain this paucity of actual trial time by claiming they were trying to settle cases but that this was not the truth.

Knowing that you are vitally concerned about law and justice for all, may I urge that you use this case, *John Harding Ballance v. Parking Management, Inc.*, United States District Court for the District of Columbia, Civil Action No. 1131-66, in an attempt to ascertain the truth so that strong preventive measures may be taken promptly in the interest of justice.

Sincerely,

(Signed) JOHN HARDING BALLANCE.

MARY K. LONG

HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 17, 1969

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, next Tuesday a birthday party will be given in honor of one of Cleveland's most outstanding citizens, Mary K. Long.

Mary K. Long has been an effective and integral part of the development and progress of Cleveland. Mrs. Long has taken the time from her life as a devoted wife and mother to interest not only herself, but her neighbors and the entire Greater Cleveland community to advocate participation in civic affairs.

The response to her active interest impelled her to accept the honored position of Democratic ward leader in ward 9 which has the largest constituency in the city of Cleveland. During Mrs. Long's

by applying more force. To this military prototype, there is "no substitute for victory" and the failure to apply the necessary force to achieve it is taken as the result of a failure of will, a lack of courage, and even a deficiency of virility. Excluded from serious consideration is the possibility that force may fail, as in Vietnam, not because you didn't use enough of it, but because it was the wrong thing to use in the first place.

The critical deficiency in the soldier's outlook, Professor White suggests, is a lack of empathy with the enemy, and a consequent lack of ability to predict the enemy's behavior.¹³ Assuming a perfect inverse relationship between the amount of force you apply and the enemy's will to resist, the military planner takes grossly insufficient account of psychological factors. The Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor was a brilliant strategic success; it virtually destroyed the American Pacific fleet, but the Japanese totally failed to foresee how the attack would unify the American people and galvanize the enormous resources and energies which were to bring ruin to the Japanese Empire. In similar fashion, the think-tank strategists and Pentagon planners failed to gauge the psychological effects of our military intervention in South Vietnam and our bombing of North Vietnam, and, in the wake of this failure, their pseudo-scientific theories of limited war and "graduated escalation" have gone hopelessly awry. Fighting in their own homeland against an enemy whom they regard as a foreign invader, the Vietcong and the North Vietnamese have failed inexplicably to respond to scientifically inflicted punishment with scientific displays of pain.

Our greatest military miscalculation was not as to the enemy's behavior but our own. It was not foreseen that the American people would not indefinitely sustain a war against a small, distant and backward country, a war without valid or attainable purpose, a war in which success is measured not by the attainment of positive objectives but by the barbarous standard of "kill ratios." What no one foresaw—neither the military nor the rest of us—was that we would become trapped in a conflict matching the enemy's willingness to die against our willingness to kill. For us the choice has become one between victory and decency—an awkward choice indeed, suggesting that somewhere along the line there was a failure in our military planning.

Just as force is the professional soldier's stock in trade, war is his best opportunity for advancement. I do not think that military professionals consciously seek or yearn for war, but they can hardly be blamed if they do not abhor it as civilians do. Peacetime duty is dull. An army in peacetime is like Congress during adjournment—without the same opportunities for travel. Combat provides a soldier with the opportunity for distinction, advancement and command. General Shoup takes note of this tendency,¹⁴ and so indeed did that most perceptive observer of America, Alexis de Tocqueville, who took note over a hundred years ago of the special dangers and susceptibilities of military establishments in democracies. In aristocracies, Tocqueville points out, the nobility become officers as a matter of duty and their ranks are foreclosed by birth, but, "In democratic armies all the soldiers may become officers, and that fact makes desire for promotion general and opens almost infinite doors to military ambition.

"Desire for promotion is almost universal in democratic armies," Tocqueville continues, "it is eager, tenacious, and continual. All other desires serve to feed it, and it is only quenched with life itself. It is therefore easy to see that promotion in times of peace must be slower in democratic armies than in any other armies in the world.

"Therefore all the ambitious minds in a democratic army ardently long for war, because war makes vacancies available and at last allows violations of the rule of seniority, which is the one privilege natural to a democracy.

"We thus arrive at the strange conclusion that of all armies those which long for war most ardently are the democratic ones, but that of all peoples those most deeply attached to peace are the democratic nations. And the most extraordinary thing about the whole matter is that it is equality which is responsible for both these contradictory results."¹⁵

The military has become ardent and dangerous competitors for power in American society. The services compete with each other for funds, for the control of new weapons systems, and for the privilege of being "first to fight." Constantly improving their techniques for rapid deployment, they not only yearn to try them out but actively seek opportunities by pressing their proposals on political authorities, who all too often are tempted by the seemingly quick, "surgical" courses of action proposed by the military in preference to the endless, wearisome methods of diplomacy. For a variety of reasons—to test new plans and equipment, to try out the techniques of counterinsurgency, and, in the case of the Marines, says General Shoup, just to avoid the disgrace of being left out¹⁶—all of the military services were enthusiastic about the initial involvement in Vietnam. By now they should have had their fill, but they still seem game to go on, trying out new weapons and strategies, although up to now the only military principle which has been vindicated in Vietnam is Tocqueville's maxim that, "There are two things that will always be very difficult for a democratic nation: to start a war and to end it."¹⁷

Even though there is probably not a single top-ranking officer in any of the armed services who would consider an attempt to overturn constitutional government in the way of *Seven Days in May*, militarism poses a distinct threat to our democracy. At the very minimum it represents a dangerously constricted and highly influential point of view toward our foreign relations—a viewpoint which takes little account of political complexities, even less of social and economic factors, and just about none of human and psychological considerations.

But the military is more than a benign repository of parochial political views. It has become a vigorous partisan in our politics, exerting great influence on the executive, on the military committees of Congress, on the "think-tanks" and universities to which it parcels out lucrative research contracts, and on public opinion. A few weeks ago it came to my attention that the Department of the Army was planning a national publicity campaign, involving exhibits and planted magazine articles to be solicited from tame civilian scientists, in order to sell the ABM to the American public and to counteract the criticisms of Congressmen and the scientific community.

Only very rarely does a general invoke the higher loyalty of patriotism—his own concept of it, that is—over loyalty to civilian political authority, as General MacArthur did in his defiance of President Truman. But if, as time goes on, the country continues to be chronically at war, continues to sustain a huge, largely autonomous military establishment, and continues to neglect its domestic problems, militarism will surely increase, and even if the military does not take over the government directly, it could come to acquire power comparable to that of the German General Staff in the years before World War I. It may not seem likely now, but it is by no means so inconceivable that we need not warn against it and act to prevent it.

The root cause of militarism is war, and as long as we have the one, we will be menaced

by the other. Tocqueville expressed it as follows:

"War does not always give democratic societies over to military government, but it must invariably and immeasurably increase the power of civil government; it must almost automatically concentrate the direction of all men and the control of all things in the hands of the government. If that does not lead to despotism by sudden violence, it leads men gently in that direction by their habits.

"All those who seek to destroy the freedom of the democratic nations must know that war is the surest and shortest means to accomplish this. That is the very first axiom of their science."¹⁸

IV. DEFENDING AMERICAN DEMOCRACY

The best defense against militarism is peace; the next best is the vigorous practice of democracy. We are not having much success in making peace, but we are practicing democracy. The dissent against Vietnam, the opposition to the ABM, and the growing willingness of Congress to look into the hitherto sacrosanct military budget are all encouraging.

I have indeed been gratified—and frankly somewhat surprised—by the change in the Senate's attitude on military matters. A new Foreign Relations subcommittee under Senator Symington is beginning a general inquiry into military influences on our foreign policy. And Senator Gore's Disarmament Subcommittee has held public, televised hearings on the anti-ballistic missile. Four Republican Senators recently issued a statement protesting the ABM and other wasteful military projects.¹⁹ And Senator Ellender of Louisiana, who is not usually regarded as an apostle of the New Left, said recently that

"... For almost 20 years now, many of us in the Congress have more or less blindly followed our military spokesmen. Some have become captives of the military. We are on the verge of turning into a militaristic nation. . . . We have forgotten many of the traditions and values which made this country great, and we have flung men, arms, and material almost heedlessly about the world."²⁰

Congressional concern with militarism reflects a mounting concern in the country as a whole. The drift into militarism and imperialism has elicited a powerful reaction from millions of our citizens, especially our youth, and I am much inclined to the view that, no matter how radical they regard themselves, our youth—except for a very few—have become the defenders of traditional American values. Having believed in the principles they were brought up to believe in—such as Jefferson's idea of liberty, Lincoln's idea of equality, and Wilson's idea of a peaceful community of nations—the present generation of young Americans have seen these ideas betrayed, and they are protesting against it.

They do so with a motivation that older people lack—even if they share the insight—because it is you of the student generation who are called upon to fight your country's battles. I have some awareness of the anguish that Vietnam and the draft impose upon so many of you. And while I wish that you did not have to bear this unfair burden, I must admit that I take a certain hope for the future from the moral sensibilities that underlie your anguish.

In his notable decision voiding the conviction of a non-religious conscientious objector, Judge Wyzanski of Boston may have eased the prospect for some young people who will be faced with the draft and with Vietnam, and I hope that will be the case. At the very least he has enunciated a civilized democratic principle in asserting the right of selective conscientious objection, because, unless it is believed that all wars are equally just or unjust, and unless it is believed that only organized religions provide valid bases for moral conviction, the rule overturned

Footnotes at end of article.

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by Judge Wyzanski makes neither sense nor justice. As Judge Wyzanski put it, "Indeed a selective conscientious objector might reflect a more discriminating study of the problem, a more sensitive conscience, and a deeper spiritual understanding."

In the courts, in the universities and in Congress democracy is reasserting itself. It is engaged in a holding action against the new militarism. But as long as we remain at war it can only be a holding action, because—if I may adapt an old military axiom—in a democracy there is no substitute for peace.

FOOTNOTES

¹ Quoted in *The New York Times*, March 16, 1969.

² Speech delivered at Massachusetts Institute of Technology, March 4, 1969, sponsored by the March 4 Movement protesting the misuses of science. *The Washington Post*, March 30, 1969, p. B3.

³ Statement of Dr. George Kistiakowsky, March 11, 1969, *Strategic and Foreign Policy Implications of the ABM Systems*. Hearing before the Subcommittee on International Organization and Disarmament Affairs of the Committee on Foreign Relations, U.S. Senate, 91st Cong., 2nd Sess., (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1969).

⁴ Statement by Dr. George Rathjens, March 28, 1969, *Strategic and Foreign Policy Implications of the ABM Systems*.

⁵ I. F. Stone's *Weekly*, March 24, 1969, p. 7.
⁶ Julius Duschka, *Arms, Money and Politics* (New York: Ives Washburn, Inc., 1965), p. 62.

⁷ Bernard D. Nossiter, "Arms Makers Offer Haven for Ex-Pentagon Brass," *The Washington Post*, March 23, 1969, p. A2.

⁸ Walter Adams and Adrian Jaffe, *Government, The Universities, and International Affairs: A Crisis in Identity*, Special Report Prepared for the U.S. Advisory Commission on International Educational and Cultural Affairs, 90th Cong., 1st Sess., House Doc. 140, 120 (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1967), p. 10.

⁹ "The New American Militarism," *The Atlantic*, April 1969, p. 51.

¹⁰ *United States Foreign Policy: Shield of the Republic*, (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1943), p. xi.

¹¹ "The New American Militarism," p. 58.
¹² Ralph K. White, *Nobody Wanted War: Misperception in Vietnam and Other Wars* (Garden City: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1968), p. 221.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 219-221.

¹⁴ "The New American Militarism," p. 54.

¹⁵ Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America* (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1966), Vol. II, ch. 22, pp. 622-623.

¹⁶ "The New American Militarism," p. 55.

¹⁷ *Democracy in America*, p. 624.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 625.

¹⁹ Senators Goodell, Cook, Hatfield and Saxbe, in a statement issued by Senators Goodell and Cook at Wright-Patterson Air Force Base, April 3, 1969.

²⁰ *Congressional Record*, 91st Cong., 1st Sess., April 1, 1969, Senate, p. S3503.

THE NAVY RECONNAISSANCE PLANE INCIDENT IN THE SEA OF JAPAN

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I appreciate the fact that the administration and other countries are making every effort through search missions to locate possible wreckage and to save, if possible, the lives of any survivors of the Navy reconnaissance plane which was shot down off North Korea. I commend the President for his cool and deliberate approach to this crisis.

The incident, however, raises several questions in my mind. First, let me say that it is my belief that this particular

intelligence operation was carried on without the personal knowledge of President Nixon even as the incident of the U.S.S. *Pueblo* was carried on without the personal knowledge of President Johnson. The questions I have in my mind are: First, why was this trip necessary; and, second, why are relatively unarmed ships like the *Pueblo*, and unarmed planes, like this one, sent into areas where the risk of incidents of this kind is very high?

It appears to me that what has happened has resulted from a carryover of an intelligence policy and procedure which had been in existence for some years and which has been continued automatically into the present, in the absence of orders to the contrary from the new administration.

The President and the Nation require protection from that sort of situation. We need to make certain that the activities of the diverse intelligence agencies are in accord with present need, as determined by the responsible elected leadership and that the agencies do not work at times at cross purposes. They must be brought under the control of the President of the United States. I would suggest that serious consideration be given, therefore, to the creation of a headquarters element within the White House. It could evaluate the numerous continuing intelligence programs of the agencies and departments so that the responsible elected administration will know what intelligence activities are being carried on by whom, where, and for what purpose. This information should be at the disposal of the President if he chooses to have it or at the disposal of someone directly responsible to him on a daily basis so that the elected administration will be fully aware of what is happening throughout the world and would not be placed in the difficult position of its predecessors as in the cases of the U-2 incident and the *Pueblo*.

DWIGHT DAVID EISENHOWER— RESOLUTION OF LEGISLATURE OF MAINE

Mrs. SMITH. Mr. President, for myself and on behalf of my colleague from Maine (Mr. MUSKIE), I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a joint resolution of the Legislature of Maine in memoriam of Gen. Dwight David Eisenhower, 34th President of the United States of America.

There being no objection, the joint resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

IN MEMORIAM

Whereas, we are deeply grieved by the death of General Dwight David Eisenhower the thirty-fourth President of the United States of America and truly a great American; and

Whereas, the spirit of his firm but compassionate leadership shall forever remain in the hearts of all peace-loving people throughout the world; and

Whereas, his every act reflected an inspiring sense of enduring devotion to duty, to honor and to country long to be cherished by all free men; and

Whereas, in his passing, not only the people of this State, but a nation of states and a world of nations, have suffered, as history

will record, an irreparable loss; now, therefore, be it

Resolved, the House of Representatives concurring, that the Legislature stand and tender a moment of silent prayer and upon adjourning this day, it do so out of respect to the memory of our beloved General Dwight D. Eisenhower; and be it further

Resolved, that a copy of this joint resolution, suitably engrossed, be transmitted to the family of the deceased.

In Senate Chamber, read and adopted, ordered sent forthwith, April 1, 1969.

Sent Down For Concurrence.

JERROLD B. SPEERS,

Secretary.

House of Representatives, read and adopted, April 1, 1969.

In concurrence.

BERTHA W. JOHNSON,

Clerk.

SHARING OF TAXES WITH STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, the General Assembly of the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations recently adopted a resolution requesting Congress to adopt a program providing for a sharing of taxes with State and local governments. So that Senators may be aware of the views expressed by the legislature of my State, I ask unanimous consent that the resolution of the Rhode Island General Assembly be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RESOLUTION H. 1418

Resolution memorializing Congress to institute a tax-sharing program with State and local governments

Resolved, That the general assembly of the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations respectfully requests the Congress of the United States to institute a tax-sharing program with state and local governments; and be it further

Resolved, That the secretary of state be and he hereby is authorized to transmit a duly certified copy of this resolution to each senator and representative from Rhode Island in the Congress of the United States in the hope that they will use every effort to institute and expedite such a program.

Attest:

AUGUST P. LAFRANCE,
Secretary of State.

DWIGHT DAVID EISENHOWER

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, "Dwight David Eisenhower": The name evokes the title "President" and rank of "general" and at once something more, something simpler. For to his time and his people, he was simply "Ike," in a word, a most likable man.

We marched with "the general" across North Africa, then on to Sicily and Italy. We embarked with him on the "great crusade" that began on the beaches of Normandy and ended in that schoolhouse in Rheims.

We followed him eagerly, for he was a brilliant strategist and something more. He had that ability to weld together the greatest alliance of armies the world has ever seen. He was able to sustain victory with modesty, extend a hand and grin to the troops. "My name's Eisenhower" was all he said.

After the war, Sir Winston Churchill was to call him "the great and humble

No Violation Of Air Space, U.S. Insists

By United Press International

The bodies of two of the 31 crewmen of the U.S. reconnaissance plane shot down by North Korea were recovered from the Sea of Japan today. The White House noted sharply that the plane was in international air space at the time of the attack.

President Nixon's Press Secretary Ronald Ziegler told report-

Nixon's Problems on Plane Are Military and Political. Page A-3

ers in the first substantive White House comment of the incident that "There could have been no mistake on the part of the North Koreans as to the location of the aircraft because it had not been (in) nor had it intruded into Korean air space."

Asked if the White House was saying the Communist attack was unprovoked, Ziegler replied: "Well, it was an unarmed plane on a routine reconnaissance mission in international air space."

The Pentagon said it was now "gravely concerned" about the chances of finding any survivors among the 29 still missing, but said the search was continuing.

A spokesman said the USS Tucker, in addition to picking up the two bodies, recovered life jackets, "numerous pieces of aircraft wreckage" and pieces of shrapnel-torn aircraft fuselage.

Later the Pentagon said that "we have been advised by the search forces that some of the debris is drifting from far out at sea toward the coast of North Korea."

Just how close the search operations might go to North Korea was unclear. The center of the search effort was said to be about 100 miles away from the North Korean seaport of Chongjin.

Nixon Remains Silent

The Japanese Foreign Ministry said the bodies were found about 75 miles southeast of Chongjin.

The Pentagon said the bodies were found about 17 miles off the coast of North Korea. The Pentagon said the bodies were found by a Japanese ship, the USS Tucker, in addition to picking up the two bodies, recovered life jackets, "numerous pieces of aircraft wreckage" and pieces of shrapnel-torn aircraft fuselage.

Continued From Page A-1 while not mentioning the plane directly, observed that "the weak can be rash. The powerful must be restrained."

Nixon's restraint was pictured by officials as reflecting the decision he made after being notified of the North Korean claim to say nothing until all the facts were known about the loss of the EC121, the Associated Press reported.

Nixon canvassed developments yesterday with his National Security Council before, late in the day, meeting for 90 minutes with Secretary of State William P. Rogers, Secretary of Defense Melvin R. Laird, Gen. Earle G. Wheeler, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and Dr. Henry A. Kissinger, Nixon's national security adviser.

Ziegler reported that Nixon conferred with Kissinger until well after midnight on the incident and that the two continued to meet during the day.

Nixon canceled a meeting with his top economic advisers that had been scheduled this morning.

Aides said the cancellation was not directly related to the plane crisis. But they also said the President was using much of the time that he would have devoted to the meeting with the so-called economic quadriad to consult with Kissinger and other advisers on additional information coming in from the search area.

In his restraint, Nixon let the Pentagon dispense the information about the incident. In an announcement yesterday, the Defense Department added terse evidence on the fate of the electronics laden \$2.7 million EC121.

"We have received a report that the destroyer Dale has picked up two pieces of aircraft fuselage with shrapnel holes in them. The Dale also picked up a

flare and a piece of a parachute."

These reports also emerged from fragmentary Pentagon briefings during the day:

The plane apparently was taken by surprise. There was "no record" of any transmission when it disappeared, and its last report was aired via radio teletype 50 minutes before the end.

There were North Korean aircraft known to be "airborne" at the time, but no evidence that ground forces in the Communist nation were on extra alert.

There was no indication the North Koreans tried to force the plane to land, in an attempt at piracy similar to the capture of the USS Pueblo.

The plane was under command of the U.S. Navy and had no mission for the Central Intelligence Agency, or the National Security Agency, the Pentagon said.

In response to questions, the Pentagon said no other American aircraft or ships were operating in the area when the EC121 was attacked.

Congress Is Restrained

Nixon's decision to air the matter at his news conference apparently meant that the United States would not accept North Korea's demand for a meeting tomorrow of the Korean Armistice Commission at Panmunjom.

Congressional reaction continued to be restrained, although there were a few more scattered calls for retaliation, or at least affirmative action.

North Korea, meanwhile, identified the unit which shot down the plane as the "896th unit of the Korean People's Army," saying it did so after the craft violated North Korean air space.

The Pentagon has maintained the plane was "far outside" any territorial boundaries claimed by North Korea.

North Korea said the plane was part of an American plan to trigger war in Korea. The Communists said tension over the incident indicates fighting could break out again "at any moment."

There was no indication that the unit credited with downing the plane included the jet fighters which apparently attacked the propeller-driven plane far out over the Sea of Japan.

Five more U.S. warships left Asian ports today, either to join the search for survivors and more wreckage, or to take up positions called for should the crisis worsen.

Other U.S. and Soviet destroyers already on the scene cruised the 42-degree water looking for any of the three life rafts aboard the plane.

Nixon administration officials do not want to say so publicly, but privately they are grateful for the Soviet help in the search effort.

Officials said there may be political overtones to the Soviet willingness to assist. The Soviet motivation apparently would be to help erase the bad impression created in the West by the Soviet bloc invasion of Czechoslovakia.

Another reason might be the Soviet desire to be generally cooperative at a time it is working with the United States on finding a Middle East peace settlement.

The situation is anomalous: The Soviet Union is helping its major adversary retrieve the remains of a plane that was carrying out surveillance on its North Korean ally and possibly on the Soviet Union itself.

Furthermore, by recovering certain aircraft debris, the Soviet vessels on the scene may put the Russians in the position of helping prove the American case that the aircraft was shot down well beyond the territorial limits of North Korea.

U.S. officials privately ex-

plained that the United States made its appeal to the Soviet Union for help primarily on humanitarian grounds.

When the crisis broke early Tuesday morning, U.S. intelligence informed the State Department of the presence of Soviet ships in the area of the suspected downing.

Armed with this information, Secretary of State Rogers summoned Soviet Ambassador Anatoly F. Dobrynin and instructed the U.S. Embassy in Moscow to call on appropriate officials at the Soviet Foreign Ministry.

Text of the Defense Department Statement on Plane

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 16—Following is a statement issued today by the Defense Department on the American reconnaissance plane lost yesterday off North Korea. All times mentioned are Eastern standard time.

On Monday, April 14, at approximately 5 P.M., a four-engine propeller-driven Navy EC-121 aircraft took off from its base at Atsugi, Japan, for a reconnaissance mission in the Sea of Japan. The aircraft had 30 Navy personnel and one Marine enlisted man aboard. It was unarmed and its mission was a routine reconnaissance track over international waters.

During the first three months of 1969 there were 190 flights similar in nature flown in this general area. Standing instructions for this kind of mission were that the aircraft was not to approach closer than 40 nautical miles to the coast of North Korea. In this particular instance the aircraft commander was under orders from CINCPACFLT (Commander in Chief, Pacific Fleet) to approach no closer than 50 nautical miles to the coast of North Korea.

Communication With Base

During its mission there were communications between the aircraft and its base. From a variety of sources, some of them sensitive, we were able to confirm that at all times during its mission

the aircraft was far outside any claimed territorial air space of North Korea.

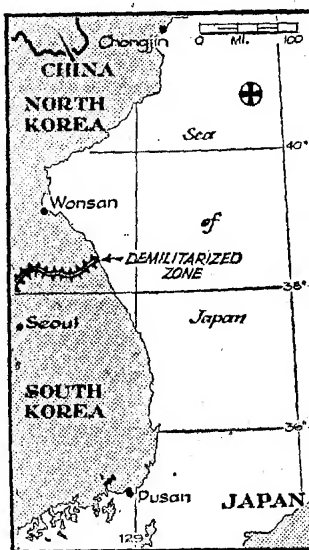
All evidence now available to us, including North Korean claims and debris sighting, leads us to believe that the aircraft was shot down by North Korean aircraft. As of this hour regrettably there has been no report of survivors.

Shortly after the Department of Defense received its first report that this reconnaissance aircraft may have been downed over the Sea of Japan by North Korean aircraft, a United States Air Force C-130 search and rescue aircraft departed Tachikawa Air Force Base, Japan.

At 1:41 A.M. a flight of United States Air Force F-106 aircraft departed Osan Air Force Base, Korea, for the area of the incident to perform the mission of combat air support for the search and rescue aircraft. A United States Air Force KC-135 tanker aircraft from Kadena Air Force Base, Okinawa, was also launched to provide air refueling support for the F-106 aircraft.

Other Planes Sent Out

The HC-130 search and rescue aircraft was relieved by a U.S. Navy P-3 from Iwakuni Marine Corps Air Station, Japan, and another HC-130 from Tachikawa Air Force Base, which departed about 7:30 A.M. The rescue aircraft ran search patterns



Cross marks the area where plane wreckage was found.

in the area and dropped flares during the night. Crew members reported dim lights but there was no confirmation of any survivors. The aircraft were searching in an area approximately 90 to 100 nautical miles southeast of Chongjin, North Korea.

Other aircraft, including HC-97's, C-130's and HU-16's, H-83 helicopters, another P-3 and additional HC-130's from Tachikawa Air Force Base, Japan; Anderson Air Base,

Guam; Clark Air Force Base, the Philippines; Naha Air Base, Okinawa, and Iwakuni Marine Corps Station in Japan joined the search.

The U.S. Navy also dispatched the U.S.S. Dale and the U.S.S. Henry W. Tucker at 8:30 P.M. Tuesday from Sasebo Naval Air Base, Japan, to assist in the search and rescue mission. They are in the search area now.

Soviet Aid Obtained

At noon on Tuesday Secretary of State Rogers talked with Ambassador Dobrynin of the Soviet Union and requested his Government's assistance in search and rescue efforts. Subsequently on Tuesday it was reported from the search area that two Soviet destroyer-type ships were operating in the immediate vicinity of the search area where a U.S. P-3 patrol aircraft had sighted debris in the water. U.S. aircraft assisted in directing the Soviet ship to the scene and in the recovery of some debris.

Reconnaissance missions of this type have been flown for more than 20 years in the Sea of Japan. There was nothing unusual about the mission. In recent years these missions have been approved by high Government authorities in the State and Defense Departments, the Joint Chiefs of Staff and the White House. Each of these missions constitutes a lawful use of international air space.

April 17, 1969

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COMMANDER IN CHIEF
U.S. PACIFIC FLEET

The Commander in Chief, United States Pacific Fleet, takes pleasure in commending Mr. William D. Bennett, Group Superintendent Structural, Pearl Harbor Naval Shipyard, for service as set forth in the following citation:

"For meritorious service performed as overall Production Department Coordinator for rip out, reconstruction and check out of the damaged portions of the ship and ship's systems of U.S.S. *Enterprise* (CVA(N)65) following a serious fire aboard the ship on 14 January 1969. In a matter of hours and with great enthusiasm Mr. Bennett organized a construction crew for the required repairs. He was eminently qualified having knowledge of ship's structure, welding and outfitting, which was derived from many years of service at the Pearl Harbor Naval Shipyard. The long hours and tireless devotion to duty exhibited by Mr. Bennett were a magnificent example to others associated with the project in the Shipyard. His relationship with the officers and men of *Enterprise* was superb. There was total and complete harmony between the operating forces and shore establishment through the entire spectrum of industrial effort from fire watches to compartment close out, from rigging service to temporary power and from paint out to system tests. Mr. Bennett's minute attention to detail in the planning of repairs was so complete that no work stoppages or bottlenecks were encountered in spite of requirements to work around material and plan shortages. The early return of *Enterprise* to the Pacific Fleet was due largely to Mr. Bennett's ability, skill, effort and personal drive. Mr. Bennett contributed to the vitality and spirit of the Pacific Fleet and the Navy Department."

JOHN J. HYLAND,
Admiral, U.S. Navy.

COMMANDER IN CHIEF, U.S. PACIFIC FLEET

The Commander in Chief, United States Pacific Fleet, takes pleasure in commending Mr. Joseph A. Schena, Chief Planner and Estimator Pearl Harbor Naval Shipyard, for service as set forth in the following citation:

"For meritorious service as Chief Planner and Estimator in connection with the U.S.S. *Enterprise* (CVA(N) 65) fire damage repairs. In this capacity Mr. Schena demonstrated outstanding leadership, having organized and personally managed a team to accomplish the task. He quickly developed initial estimates for repairs; expeditiously ordered all material required; and on a daily basis, monitored the status of material, and when required ordered substitute material. When substitute material was not available, he directed local shipyard manufacture in order to maintain the fast tempo of repair progress. Mr. Schena kept the supply expeditors informed as to which material was required immediately for support of the waterfront effort; insured that planners and estimators maintained daily contact with the Production Department shops and key ship's personnel. He insured that the planners and estimators kept the shops informed of the availability and status of material; thus, when shop personnel identified hard spots in material, the planners and estimators took immediate action to solve the problems. Under his guidance and coordination, Mr. Schena and his team worked approximately seven days a week an average of 12 hours per day, insuring correction of every item of damage repair work with a minimum of job order paperwork. Mr. Schena's dedication to duty, skill, and personal drive made a significant contribution to returning *Enterprise* to the Pacific Fleet and is a credit to himself, the Pacific Fleet and the Navy Department."

JOHN J. HYLAND,
Admiral, U.S. Navy.

COMMANDER IN CHIEF, U.S. PACIFIC FLEET

The Commander in Chief, United States Pacific Fleet, takes pleasure in commending Mr. Alfred Y. K. Wong, Superintendent II Sheetmetal Worker, Pearl Harbor Naval Shipyard, for service as set forth in the following citation:

"For meritorious service as Compartment Completion Coordinator on the U.S.S. *Enterprise* from 18 January to 4 March 1969 following a serious fire which occurred aboard *Enterprise* on 14 January 1969. This was a most difficult task involving many heavily damaged ship's compartments and associated systems. Tracing out the affected systems, restoring structure, habitability and system integrity was a major task. Mr. Wong's outstanding enthusiasm, drive, constant attention to detail, leadership and personal zeal served as outstanding examples to all trades involved in the repair effort. His leadership in all the industrial areas was exemplary. Mr. Wong established a detailed scheduling of compartment repairs which served as a constant goal to all concerned to produce a finished product in the shortest possible time despite complications by factors such as material problems, plan inconsistencies and abnormal erection sequences. All obstacles were overcome by Mr. Wong's spirit, initiative and drive. He demonstrated technical skill by his ability to improvise where more formal means of direction were lacking. Through his management the joint effort exerted by the ship's personnel to survey compartments and correct deficiencies was most efficiently executed, and was indicative of the outstanding relationship with the ship's officers and men. Mr. Wong contributed greatly to the early return of *Enterprise* to the operating forces, adding stature to himself, the Pearl Harbor Naval Shipyard, and the Navy Department."

JOHN J. HYLAND,
Admiral, U.S. Navy.

PHILADELPHIA'S POLICE ATHLETIC
LEAGUE PLEDGE

HON. JOSHUA EILBERG

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 17, 1969

Mr. EILBERG. Mr. Speaker, on Friday, April 18, 1969, 175 Philadelphia youngsters will visit with President Richard M. Nixon in the Rose Garden of the White House.

They will present to the President scrolls with the signatures of 250,000 other Philadelphia youngsters all endorsing the Police Athletic League pledge.

In major American cities like my own city, Philadelphia, we adults, too, frequently despair at the interests and progress of our youth.

But in the industry and purposes of PAL, we have found that despair is self-indulgent; that there is cause for hope if we adults are willing to accept our proper responsibilities and show the way.

Formally chartered in March 1949, the Police Athletic League of Philadelphia is a highly regarded cooperative venture between a group of dedicated citizens and the police department. Through the years, PAL has grown, and at the end of 1968, there were 22 PAL centers in operation, most of them in reconverted police stations, fire stations, and church basements.

Each center has gymnastic equipment to keep boys from 9 to 18 busy learning the rudiments of boxing, bowling, baseball, basketball, football, track and field, table tennis, chess, and checkers, hobby clubs, camera clubs, talent contests, and a junior cadet drum and bugle corps rounds out the activities for boys.

There are 25,000 youngsters enrolled in PAL, and in recent years, PAL opened its doors to girls. Now 2,000 girls are learning such homemaking skills as cook and sewing, arts and crafts, and ballet and social dancing. A dedicated staff of 25 full-time police officers, carefully selected and specially trained for their assignments—serve as PAL supervisors. Many other policemen—and police-women—volunteer their time as coaches and assistants.

Police Commissioner Frank L. Rizzo serves as PAL president and many prominent civic leaders serve on its board of directors. Since 1962, PAL's day-to-day activities have been directed by Sgt. Vincent E. Furlong, himself a PAL "graduate."

For the youngsters, for their parents, and for the community at large, PAL has been a force for good, promoting a closer relationship between the policeman and the youngster and instilling in the youngsters a desire for good citizenship, sportsmanship, loyalty to American traditions, and a respect for authority. Thus, youngsters are kept morally and physically fit.

In 1968, to encourage additional thousands of Philadelphia children to these high ideals, PAL asked junior and senior high school students in its public and diocesan schools to sign scrolls containing the PAL pledge, in which they promised to uphold the precepts of good citizenship and respect for authority. Some 150,000 signatures were collected. The scrolls, addressed to the President of the United States, were taken to Washington, D.C., and in formal ceremonies, presented to President Lyndon B. Johnson in March, in the Rose Garden of the White House. Much impressed, the President commended the Police Athletic League and said such a program in these turbulent times was a hopeful sign for the Nation's future.

In recent weeks, junior and senior high school students were again asked to affirm their belief in these ideals, and this time, were joined by elementary school students in the fifth, sixth, seventh, and eighth grades. These scrolls contain 250,000 signatures of boys and girls of Philadelphia dedicating themselves to PAL's precepts and are addressed to President Nixon.

PAL's effectiveness can be summed up by Police Commissioner Rizzo when he says that in his wide experience, boys and girls who take part in PAL rarely get into difficulties with the law and invariably go on to become productive citizens.

PAL's credo: "It's Far Better To Build Boys Than To Mend Men."

Pledge: "I pledge to learn and practice the rules of fair play, to respect the rights of others, to obey the laws of our city, State and Nation, to be a credit to my family, friends, and myself, to be a

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leader for the good things of life and thereby prepare myself for the task of responsible adulthood. All this I pledge, for I am a PAL."

THE EC-121—WHAT CAN WE EXPECT?

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 17, 1969

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, during these tense moments following the downing of the EC-121, a U.S. reconnaissance aircraft by North Korea in the Sea of Japan, the world awaits the reaction of the President of the United States just as we waited after the capture of the U.S.S. *Pueblo* by the same "fourth rate power" in 1968.

This time we hope that the President will act decisively in retaliation for this dastardly and cowardly act of war against an unarmed airplane.

Had the United States followed former President Theodore Roosevelt's philosophy of "speak softly and carry a big stick" this latest act of aggression would not have occurred and 31 missing American boys would be safe.

In reflecting the possible reaction of our leader, we have only to look at statements made by President Nixon, then civilian citizen, regarding the U.S.S. *Pueblo* seizure.

Mr. Speaker, I include these statements taken from Washington and New York newspapers following my remarks:

[From the New York Times, Jan. 28, 1968]

NIXON IS CRITICAL OF SHIP SEIZURE
(By Murray Schumach)

Former Vice President Richard M. Nixon yesterday termed the *Pueblo* incident an "incredible blunder" by the Johnson Administration, but said it should not be a subject for political partisanship.

The comment was made at the Waldorf-Astoria shortly before a rousing meeting for Republican unity arranged at the 47th annual luncheon of the Women National Republican Club. Some 1,800 persons were at the luncheon.

SHIP'S PRESENCE BACKED

The vessel was seized on Tuesday off the coast of North Korea by patrol boats of the North Korean Navy.

Mr. Nixon, in a prepared statement, as well as at a news conference before the luncheon started, said that the *Pueblo* "had a right to be there to protect our own interests."

"The incredible blunder," he said, "was not that our ship was there. The blunder was our failure to have some protection for our ship 'after repeated harassment and specific warnings by the North Koreans had made its danger clear.'"

The vessel he said, which was "almost unarmed" and not capable of much speed, should have had support from warships and air cover on its "regular reconnaissance patrol within sight of the North Korean shore."

The first step now should be to obtain the release of the crew, he declared. In this, he said, the United States' policy should be "firm diplomacy," but not "rash action." The seizure of the *Pueblo*, he said, had impaired the credibility of the United States' foreign policy, which had "already been impaired."

[From the Washington (D.C.) Star, Jan. 28, 1968]

BEDS TESTING GLOBAL POWER OF UNITED STATES, NIXON SAYS

NEW YORK.—Richard M. Nixon, a likely prospect for the Republican presidential nomination, warned yesterday that the *Pueblo* incident was part of a worldwide Communist test of the "credibility and utility" of U.S. global power.

"The Communist world has been jointly testing the proposition that the United States is over-extended, over-committed, and underprepared to act," the former vice president said in a statement.

"Whether these Communist powers have been acting in concert, or whether they have acted independently, the effect has been jointly to take the measure of the United States," Nixon said. "What is being tested is not the quantity of America's power—but its credibility and its utility."

Nixon charged the government with a "tactical blunder" in failing to provide air and sea cover for the reconnaissance ship U.S.S. *Pueblo* on its patrol "within sight of the North Korean shore."

"But the longer-range need is to re-establish the credibility of American policy by re-establishing the credibility of American power," he said.

"The *Pueblo* seizure has further undermined that credibility. What we have to ensure is that it has not been irrevocably undermined," he said.

Nixon said Americans should recognize that an incident like the *Pueblo* should never have happened and must not be allowed to happen again.

"We need make no apology for the *Pueblo*'s presence in the waters off North Korea," he said. "The repeated belligerent acts and true violations by North Korea presented a clear and present threat to the peace."

"But it seems all but incredible that we should have been guilty of such a tactical blunder: that an almost unarmed, low-speed craft, crammed with supersecret equipment, should have been sent alone on regular reconnaissance patrol within sight of the North Korean shore without taking the elementary precaution of having adequate air and sea cover available—even after repeated harassments and specific warnings by the North Koreans had made its danger clear."

Nixon, who is expected to announce his candidacy for the GOP presidential nomination shortly, issued the statement from his New York law office.

[From the New York Times, Feb. 6, 1968]

NIXON CRITICIZES CURB ON BOMBINGS, SAYS UNITED STATES MUST PROSECUTE WAR MORE EFFECTIVELY

GREEN BAY, Wis., February 5.—Richard M. Nixon, accelerating his attack on President Johnson's handling of the Vietnam war, said today that the Administration had been wrong to suspend the bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong before the recent Communist offensive.

He went on to suggest that the fact that the bombing pause had been followed almost immediately by a renewed Communist offensive merely demonstrated the folly of attempting to win over the Communists through peace overtures. Referring to the recent Vietcong attacks in Saigon, he declared:

"I believe that these latest actions, the most aggressive of the war, coming on top of the recent peace offensive—cutting back on the bombing, and softening the San Antonio formula [for ending the war]—points clearly to the fact that the North Vietnamese and the Vietcong are not going to change their attitude by virtue of the U.S. protesting for peace."

Mr. Nixon went on to say that "the only effective way to convince Hanoi that 'peace is in their interests' is to 'prosecute the war more effectively.'"

The former Vice President has often said that he shared the Administration's commitment to the war in Vietnam but disagreed with its methods of prosecuting the war. His comments today represented the sharpest and most specific presentation of that general thesis.

Mr. Nixon also said the Vietcong attacks had exposed what he suggested was the fraudulence of the Administration's own public statements on the war. The Administration, he charged, has too often told the country that the "war is going better" and that "peace is around the corner."

Mr. Johnson would be "much better advised to tell the truth," the former Vice President added.

SUGGESTS PUEBLO APOLOGY

Asked about the *Pueblo* incident, Mr. Nixon suggested that the United States might "apologize" to the North Vietnamese if it would help secure the safe return of the 83 crewmen on the captured ship.

In the 1960 campaign, Mr. Nixon berated his opponent, John F. Kennedy, for suggesting that United States apologize to the Soviet Union when an American U-2 reconnaissance plane was shot down in the Soviet Union.

Mr. Nixon said that if the *Pueblo* had strayed within the 12-mile limit off the North Korean coast, "without permission and without notice," it was "a direct violation."

"I'm not suggesting under any circumstances," he went on, "that there should be an apology unless it is clear that that was done. Under those circumstances, I think we could consider it."

[From the New York Times, Oct. 25, 1968]

He (Mr. Nixon) termed the capture and detention of the American intelligence ship *Pueblo* by North Korea "an incredible humiliation of the United States."

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the Congressional Record, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

tional literature. It is a language with 127 specialist dictionaries, over 100 periodicals, and on the order of 10,000 books. It is a language which sustains regular daily and weekly radio broadcasts in various places in the world. It is a language that is used by hundreds of business concerns in daily affairs. It is the one language by use of which people, numbering usually around 2000, from upwards of forty countries, meet in conference every year without the need of interpreters. (There are also numerous smaller conferences.) Esperanto has the potential for enhancing one's enjoyment of his vacation trip abroad, if he is at all interested in meeting people in the places that he visits, whether the natives, or other tourists from far and wide. (To this end it is only necessary to contact an Esperanto organization to learn about scheduled events and tours.) Indeed Esperanto is the one language by use of which people from all over the world may discuss matters of mutual interest on an equal footing and with a minimum of misunderstanding.

ELEMENT OF REALISM

The factors which make Esperanto applicable now to the purposes of education are that it is ideal as the introductory "foreign" language, and that in step with its appropriation in that role it can add a new element of realism to such classes as geography and social studies—by correspondence with children of similar age from the areas under study. Beyond these areas of obvious applicability, Esperanto simplifies the study of grammar, including that of English, and it is an excellent exercise in logic. Results reflecting these facts are documented in reports from San Mateo, California, published in articles in *Read Magazine* (March 15, 1967) and the *California Teachers Journal* (May 1968). (This CTA article, incidentally was presented to the Congress of the United States by Rep. Rhodes of Pa., and read in its entirety into the *Congressional Record* (Sept. 17), the second presentation of such an article to the Congress in as many months.) The governments of Poland and New Zealand, moreover, have acted in recent months to "encourage" their schools to teach Esperanto.

Governments hesitate to take the necessary action to bridge the language barrier, and they continue to fumble because of it, in their busy-ness with cold wars, hot wars, and other petty feuds, even as the ticking away continues on any number of time-bombs which Esperanto might very well help to de-fuse. On the other hand, the peoples of the world, in this age of anxiety, are found to be quite warm to the idea of a universal second language, as proven by over 80% endorsement in polls taken in various countries, including the U.S.

Never mind, then, the cynical cant about "... panacea ..." that is so often heard in response to proposals that are broad in the scope of their effects and side effects, but let the judgment of reason prevail. For this, in truth, is one kind of idea that is sought in answer to existing problems, in education and out. Then it is incumbent on those who are conscientious to apply this marvelous language wherever they may find it currently useful, thus at the same time to hasten its growth toward fulfillment of the role that would end this serious void in the channels of international communication.

NR

NORTH KOREAN AGGRESSION

HON. JOHN O. MARSH, JR.

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 17, 1969

Mr. MARSH. Mr. Speaker, the tragic and unwarranted attack on our recon-

naissance aircraft demonstrates dramatically the deteriorating situation in Korea.

In addition to the seizure of the *Pueblo* and the loss of the reconnaissance aircraft, we find an increase in the effort to infiltrate guerrilla forces into South Korea by North Korea. The following item which appeared in the February 14 edition of the *Wall Street Journal* by William D. Hartley points out a lesser-known effort by North Korea to carry their aggression into South Korea.

Because it shows another dimension of North Korean aggression, I think other Members would find it of interest.

The article follows:

KIM'S AGENTS: NORTH KOREA DISPATCHES ELITE RED GUERRILLAS TO SUBVERT THE SOUTH—SEOUL SAYS INFILTRATORS FAIL TO SPARK VIETCONG-STYLE REVOLTS—MANY CAPTURED—FLOATING IN ON WATERWINGS

(By William D. Hartley)

SEOUL, SOUTH KOREA.—During the final two nights of last October and the first two of November, four 30-man guerrilla teams led by North Korean Lt. Chong Dong-choon slipped ashore on South Korea's rugged and bleak eastern coast. They quickly faded into the mountains.

The North Koreans came well-prepared. Lt. Chong, a slight but muscular 25-year-old, had undergone months of rigorous mountain and field training, plus hours of classroom work in tactics and political ideology. He wore a fake South Korean army sergeant's uniform and carried a veritable arsenal—a Soviet-made submachine gun, three pistols, hand grenades and an antitank grenade.

Lt. Chong, now prisoner, recalls that one of the first South Koreans he encountered was an eight-year-old boy. He asked the boy which men in his village were landowners and capitalists who oppressed the people. "If they had any, we were going to kill them," he says expressionlessly.

Lt. Chong, a trained infiltrator, is an instrument of a new kind of warfare designed to raise havoc on the troubled Korean peninsula, 16 years after the armistices that ended the Korean war. His personal effectiveness is ended, to be sure, now that he is a captive of the Republic of Korea (ROK). But the government here says North Korea's 124th army unit, an elite outfit, has 6,000 such infiltrators trained for action.

CAMPAIGN OF STEALTH

U.S. Army Gen. Charles H. Bonesteel, commander of American and United Nations forces here, calls the infiltration struggle "the porous war." The combat differs from that of the Korean war, but the objective of Kim Il-sung, premier of North Korea, is considered to be the same—unification of the peninsula on his terms. He seems unwilling now to launch another all-out attack across the demilitarized zone. But American and Korean analysts here say he is stepping up a campaign of infiltration by hundreds of agents.

South Korean spokesmen say Kim is frustrated by the progress of his southern antagonists toward building a sound economy and capturing the loyalty of the people. Infiltration is said to be his new stratagem for shaking the stability of the south.

South Korea is trying to cope with the threat. It propagandizes its citizens heavily. All around Seoul, grisly posters depict atrocities allegedly committed last fall by Communist agents. At checkpoints along roads leading into Seoul from the north, police and army men inspect papers and search vehicles for infiltrators. Signs calling for information on northern agents are everywhere. A few days ago, a citizens' group suggested that even children's comic books should stress the importance of turning in Communist agents.

NEW TACTICS

A Korean government official says the number of known infiltrators into and across the DMZ, plus those entering along South Korea's 1,550-mile coastline, rose to 1,274 last year from 841 in 1967.

Until last year, the North Koreans had seemed satisfied with land infiltration routes across the DMZ, usually sending small groups of men. But capture of the U.S. intelligence ship *Pueblo* and the abortive attempt to assassinate President Park, both at the beginning of 1968, prompted sweeping improvements of South Korean defenses along the DMZ, according to American observers. Infiltration was hampered.

Though one U.S. military commander on the DMZ says he expected "more probing" there, the Communists recently have focused on coastal entry points. Lt. Chong's relatively large groups of 30 men each came in fast boats disguised as fishing boats, landing at Ul-jin on South Korea's east coast.

Analysts here point out that cold and snow, now hampering movement through the countryside, will be diminishing in the months to come. They expect the North Koreans then to resume the two-pronged approach, making probes across the DMZ in addition to strikes at the coastline.

EFFORT FOR SOUTH KOREA

The North Korean guerrilla offensive is forcing Seoul into expensive precautions. The government has created a civilian home guard force, budgeted this year at \$51 million. Tracking down guerrillas is difficult. It took tens of thousands of troops more than a month in the mountains to capture or kill 117 of the 120 North Korean agents involved in the Ul-jin landings (the remaining three are presumed dead).

The U.S., committed to South Korea's defense, also is increasing its spending. U.S. helicopters have been delivered to help South Korean soldiers flush out Communist infiltrators. American troops here number 55,000.

Kim, say observers, is reaping good returns from a relatively small investment of men. Some say that President Park might be prompted to recall for home defense the 55,000 South Korean troops serving in Vietnam. "If I were in Pyongyang (the North Korean capital)," says one American here, "I would hope the ROK government would overreact to my raids and clamp down with some repressive measures to meet the threat. This would cause some unrest."

Some see this happening already. There are plans to create a "strategic hamlet" program in parts of South Korea. The intent, says a senior Korean official, is to move citizens from some remote villages into more secure locations, whether they want to go or not.

Officials here speculate that Kim might shift his emphasis from raids on villages and troops in the DMZ to strikes on industry. "There has been a question in the minds of many people here why Kim hasn't hit industry yet," says one economist. "It would seem this would be better suited to his desires than these terror tactics."

South Korea's economy leans heavily on foreign investment. Foreign capital investment has totaled \$450 million in the last six years. There are fears that terrorist raids might stem the investment flow. "We know that the units who do the landings hold training exercises against factories," says an American military source.

But South Korea spokesmen discount the danger. The factories, they point out, are in heavily guarded population centers. Still, even attempted sabotage might discourage potential investors. One American close to the Seoul business community says the attempt on President Park's life last year caused some companies to reconsider investment plans.

In Pyongyang's version of the story, there are no northern infiltrators; the unrest originates with dissatisfied southerners. "Today the broad sections of the South Korean people are waging a victorious struggle in all fields," Kim has said. "I send warm revolutionary greetings to the revolutionaries and democratic personages, to all patriots in South Korea who are putting up a valorous fight in various parts of South Korea, underground, in mountains or even in the prisons."

The flowery rhetoric from North Korea shows Kim's hope of fomenting a Vietcong-style insurrection in the south, South Korean officials say. North Koreans captured in the U-1in landing say their mission was to organize villages into "revolutionary bases," propagandizing the people and turning them into collaborators. Other captured infiltrators have said they intended to set up guerrilla bases for an eventual revolution against Mr. Park's government.

CONFIDENTIAL SECURE

There is little evidence that such an uprising will materialize. "The atmosphere just isn't conducive to a Vietcong movement," says one diplomat. "People remember the war vividly. You can't talk with anyone here who didn't have some member of his family killed in the war."

ROK officials say that 90% of the agents killed or captured last year were spotted and reported by sharp-eyed civilians. Stories of such captures abound. A railroad clerk identified one agent when the man asked for cigarettes but didn't know the names of the South Korean brands. Another was turned in when a waitress noticed that he wielded his chopsticks in an unfamiliar manner. However, patriotism is bolstered by a reward of \$3,600—about 25 times the per capita income last year—for each infiltrator turned in.

The North Koreans apparently have been indoctrinated to expect broad cooperation among the South Korean citizens. "Before I came," Lt. Chong says, "I heard every day that the situation of life in the Republic of Korea is very poor and that every farmer dies of hunger." A few days before his mission began, Lt. Chong heard a rousing talk from Kim Jung-tae, the three-star general said to be the chief of guerrilla operations. "He said, 'When you land, every Korean villager will help your guerrilla activities and you can easily make them collaborators,'" Lt. Chong recalls.

But the villagers resisted, and the guerrillas reacted violently, to the detriment of their missionary effort. Twenty-five civilians were killed, including a four-year-old boy whose jaw was ripped off. "That is a hell of a way to make friends," says one American officer.

But the North Korean effort may have produced some successes. Last summer the South Korean central intelligence agency broke up an espionage ring called the Unification Revolution Party. Members included southerners and some Communist agents. Observers suspect that other groups may still be operating.

THE SELECT UNIT

North Korea's infiltration outfit, the 124th unit, has grown to its present size of 6,000 from 2,400 men a year ago, South Korean officials say. All its men are officers, in good physical shape, and all are Communist party members. Lt. Chong, the son of a woodworker from a Manchurian border village on the Yalu river, joined the 124th in September 1967 after spending six years in the regular army.

In training, all members rise at 5 a.m., according to Lt. Chong. "Before taking breakfast, we had to do cross-country running and mountain climbing carrying 30 kilograms (66 pounds) of sandbags in a knapsack," he says. "Then we studied the ideology of Kim Il-sung for one hour." This was followed by classes on operational tactics, topography,

intelligence studies of South Korea and radio communications.

After dinner, there was more mountain climbing and training in night infiltration tactics. "Then we would run 10 kilometers (6.2 miles) with the sandbags," Lt. Chong says. Sunday was a day of rest. "We used to sleep all day." Men of the 124th get rations double those of the regular army, plus good quarters.

So intense is the training, say U.S. observers, that the guerrillas tend to become fanatical. Each carries a hand grenade that explodes the second the handle is released (standard grenades have a delay of several seconds). This device often is used for suicide to prevent capture.

Infiltrators use some unusual tactics to get across the DMZ. Some have strapped on waterwings and floated with the incoming tide up the Imjin river that crosses the DMZ from the north. Northern agents used to burrow underneath the fence that marks the southern boundary of the DMZ, until the Americans planted 18-inch stakes to halt the tunneling.

"They are trained as much as nine months for a mission," says a young American major stationed along the DMZ. "They spend weeks reconnoitering routes and weeks at the fence, looking for gaps. Probably they have escorts who have been in and out of the zone for years. And they're not foolhardy. When they're discovered, they abort the mission and go back across."

A CITIZEN SPEAKS OUT

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 17, 1969

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Martin P. Broderick, Jr., of Baton Rouge, La., a small businessman, father, and taxpayer from my congressional district, has sent me a copy of his letter to the President of the United States.

I compliment Mr. Broderick for exercising his privilege of citizenship to express his opinion to the Chief Executive and can only hope that more and more of those people of the silent majority will follow his lead in telling their President what they expect from the leader of their country.

The letter follows:

APRIL 14, 1969.

MR. RICHARD M. NIXON,
President of the United States,
White House,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR PRESIDENT NIXON: This nation yearns for you to display strong leadership qualities. It is time for us to stop talking about giving anyone rights or special privileges and to talk about each individual earning his right to be a citizen of this fine nation.

If we continue to let our Universities be taken over by mobs seeking to destroy these institutions, without punishing the leaders because they claim to do it in the name of free speech, we are not only going to lose these places of learning but also the Republic itself. This is an attack on the very foundations of our government.

Mr. President, the young men of America are puzzled by our policies. We are in a War that three Presidents and their Congress have been afraid to declare. People commit treason in the name of free speech and the Attorneys General of three Presidents are afraid to act. American men are dying today in what is called a limited war that we are not allowing the military to win.

Mr. President, the young men of America are not afraid to fight and die if they know they will win. *Not one American should die unless it is in a quest for Victory!* I urge you to fully commit this Nation to total and immediate Victory in Viet Nam. Mr. President, you only have to whip one bully and the rest will fall into line.

I pray you will have the strength to act in a resolute manner.

Sincerely,

(Signed) MARTIN P. BRODERICK, JR.

AMERICAN POLICIES TOWARD EAST CENTRAL EUROPE

HON. HENRY HELSTOSKI

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 15, 1969

Mr. HELSTOSKI. Mr. Speaker, today I am joining my colleagues in discussing American policy toward East Central Europe spurred on by the recent memorandum of the American Hungarian Federation pointing toward the twin aims: the promotion of Atlantic partnership leading to an independent, but politically well-coordinated and friendly Western Europe and the creation of a Central European buffer zone including Austria, Yugoslavia, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia, possibly also Rumania and Poland.

In this regard I came across the article of the editorial board chairman of the Studies on a New Central Europe published in New York by political and economic experts from the Central European countries. This article goes even further in analyzing the possibility of the establishment of a buffer zone with international guarantees of its neutrality as a result of negotiation with the Soviet Union and our NATO allies.

I insert the article at this point into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

TOWARD A CONSTRUCTIVE IDEOLOGY AND POLICY IN A NEW CENTRAL EUROPE

(By Eugene Padanyi-Gulyas)

An historic course began half a century ago. In retrospect, it can be generally characterized as a disintegration of post-feudal empires. First Czarism was overthrown in Russia, then the Hohenzollern German empire collapsed and the Habsburg monarchy fell apart. The latter was engineered by the Western powers in accordance with the wartime objective expressed in the political writings of the Czech Edward Benes.¹ Twenty years later, with Germany's rise to greater power he had to emigrate a second time. Thirty years later, in 1948 under heavy political pressure of the Soviet Union, Benes became helpless, embittered and died a disappointed man. Czechoslovakia's case is not extraordinary, but typical of the fate of small states in Central Europe. The results of political disintegration were fatal.

October 1968 was the date set to celebrate "fifty years of independence" for Czechoslovakia, Greater Rumania, and Yugoslavia. Flags, posters, books, pamphlets, commemorative speeches and festivals had been readied for the occasion. Then the invasion of Czechoslovakia by Soviet and four other Warsaw Pact Countries demonstrated to the whole world that independence does not and did not exist in the Central Euro-

¹ Edward Benes: "Détruisez l'Autriche Hongrie". Paris, 1917.

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The DEPUTY MINISTER OF BANTU ADMINISTRATION AND EDUCATION. We have heard all these ridiculous stories already.

Mrs. SUZMAN. They are not ridiculous stories. The honorable Minister can go and have a look for himself. It is disgraceful. I take the removal of the 30-year leases from people who put all their aspirations into owning their little houses under 30-year lease in Johannesburg and elsewhere. They are just destroyed like that. The honorable Minister could not care less. I take the decisions not to have any more high schools up to matric in the urban areas so that the Africans who long for higher education for their children have to send their children out to the country schools at great expense, costing at least R100 to R120 per year, which they can ill afford. Or go without higher education. It was easier for an African child living in Durban or Johannesburg to get high school education up to matric a generation ago than it is today. When those children go out of the towns, unless their parents have taken every possible precaution to notify the superintendent of the township to keep their names on the housing permit, to show that they have been paying the school fees, they are not allowed to come back when they have finished school, because their registration books are issued in the country districts and they are not allowed to come back to the towns. The officials do not warn the parents concerned about these difficulties.

As a final little example of "verligtheid," or whatever one might call it, of this government, I want to quote the speech made by the honorable Prime Minister about no shop apartheid. Instead of just saying that it is ridiculous in this day and age to contemplate shop apartheid, he said that his audience should imagine what would happen if a law of this nature was enforced in South Africa. He said: "Any White who was not able to go to a shop would not then be able to send his non-white servant. One can imagine what chaos would ensue." I do not need to say anything more. That is an "enlightened sentiment." But it is not that this goes counter to every bit of thinking of the twentieth century.

The MINISTER OF BANTU ADMINISTRATION AND DEVELOPMENT. Do you not send your non-white servant to the shops?

Mrs. SUZMAN. Naturally! But I would not have shop apartheid under any conditions. Does the honorable Minister not understand that?

(Business suspended at 12:45 p.m. and resumed at 2:20 p.m.)

Mrs. SUZMAN. When the House adjourned, I had completed the major part of my speech and I hope that I have disposed of the verligteverkrampde myth fairly conclusively. There is only one other point I wish to make in the few minutes at my disposal.

I want to deal with the interesting exchange which took place yesterday between the honorable Minister of Transport and the honorable Leader of the Opposition in regard to the rate for the job. The honorable Leader of the Opposition talked with about a minimum wage for Whites. I simply want to point out in that regard that his is, of course, the dilemma of the United Party. One cannot say in one breath that one is against job reservation and at the same time say that one is in favor of upholding the industrial color bar. The two things are mutually contradictory, and one must make up one's mind. One can have an open economy with free competition and the rate for the job, but that has nothing to do with a minimum wage for Whites, because the minute one talks about a minimum wage for Whites one has given away the whole argument in favor of the rate for the job. [Interjection.] No, not if the Leader of the Opposition makes a point of saying there must be a minimum rate for Whites, because that means that certain jobs by virtue of having a certain high wage rate, are reserved for

white people. That is all it can mean: the rate for the job is a flat rate per occupation. So one cannot talk about having a minimum rate for Whites. One should have a minimum rate for every job, which I believe should be high enough to cover the poverty datum line for even the most unskilled and mental jobs. [Interjections.] I was talking to the gentleman behind me for a minute. I would point out that production would in fact increase because when you are dealing with a class of people who are underpaid and cannot feed themselves properly, then the chances are that when you give them enough money with which to feed themselves properly, their production will increase. That has been found everywhere. [Interjections.]

T. G. HUGHES. The Deputy Minister said there should be a minimum wage for everybody.

Mrs. SUZMAN. Of course there should be. Mr. SPEAKER. Order! The honorable member for Transkei must play the game; he cannot get too close to the honorable member. [Laughter.]

Mrs. SUZMAN. With respect, Sir, he will have to play the game much more skillfully. The point I was trying to make as far as the honorable Minister of Transport is concerned is that he interjected at one stage and said: "What do I do about the hundreds of thousands of white workers who do not have an education above Standard Six?" I think I understood him correctly to say that. Everybody sympathizes with the predicament of the government in this regard, and every government has this predicament of how to look after people who by their own shortcomings, for which they cannot be blamed, are unable to acquire higher skills. Naturally such people must be given some form of sheltered employment, or their housing must be subsidized, but they have to be cared for by the State.

Sir DE VILLIERS GRAAFF. Then pay them the minimum wage.

Mrs. SUZMAN. No, it is not only a minimum wage; it is more than that. They have to be looked after and placed in certain types of employment, but not at the expense of the whole economy. That is the point. It should not be done at the expense of not training the non-Whites because you want to keep those jobs reserved for Whites who cannot do any better themselves. The point is—and I am talking now to the honorable Minister and not to the honorable Leader of the Opposition—that it should not be done at the expense of the whole economy. Sir, I do not believe anyone in South Africa has to make sacrifices. The apostle, as he calls himself, the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration, said that we should rather have a poor South Africa but a white South Africa. [Interjections.] That is absolutely uncalled for, because there is enough for everybody. That is why. This country is a rich country and not like some of the African states. We have vast resources waiting to be developed, and the one thing which is holding back our really tremendous growth is the fact that we do not use our manpower resources properly. We do not need to make any sacrifices; not that the Deputy Minister has any intention of making any sacrifices: I am quite sure of that, and not that it is ever really intended that the white people should make the sacrifices. The sacrifices have to be made by non-Whites, by keeping them in unproductive employment, or by keeping them under-employed. What we should be devoting all our energies to is developing our resources by training our labor and allowing the full productive use of our non-white labor to assist white labor who have been caught—not only the unskilled and the semi-skilled but the skilled white labor—in a dilemma because they have been caught between the pressure of automation, for which they are not trained, on the one side, and the fragmentation pressures on the other side. What we

have to do is to retrain our white labor and give them redeployment allowances and so on, so that we can take advantage of the third industrial revolution, which is the phase that South Africa should now be entering upon.

(Mr. PODELL asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous matter.)

[Mr. PODELL'S remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.]

CORRECT THIS ERROR

(Mr. DADDARIO asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. DADDARIO. Mr. Speaker, I was disappointed to learn today that Dr. Franklin Long, of Cornell University, had been asked to withdraw his name from nomination as Director of the National Science Foundation. Dr. Long is highly qualified for this post and the administration would have been highly commended for having named him.

It is my understanding that the unfortunate series of events of which we have just learned began when Dr. Long agreed to become Director upon the invitation of the administration. Apparently Dr. Long was subsequently asked if he would agree to support the administration's anti-ballistic-missile system. When he refused to do so he was advised that he could no longer be considered. It is unfortunate that the Nixon administration is sacrificing the National Science Foundation on the altar of the ABM, and, by so doing, seriously affecting its unique capability to be of service to our country.

Dr. Long has a distinguished record in academic accomplishment, university administration, and public service. An outstanding physical chemist in his own right, he is presently vice president for research and advanced studies at Cornell University. Between 1950 and 1960, he was chairman of the Cornell Chemistry Department. His record of Government service has been truly outstanding, and includes participation in the National Defense Research Committee during World War II. Since the Second World War he has made many other contributions which strengthen our national defense. For instance, he has been a member of the Air Force Scientific Advisory Board and chairman of the chemistry advisory committee of the Air Force Office of Scientific Research. He has been a consultant for the Army's Ballistics Research Laboratory and an Assistant Director of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. As a member of the President's Science Advisory Committee during the early 60's he made his talents available to our Government at the highest level in the area of science policy. One cannot even remotely consider Dr. Long to be unconcerned about the quality and adequacy of our defense posture in the light of such a record.

I am amazed that Dr. Long's reservations concerning the Sentinel ABM system, which were known to the public

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through his past writings, should preclude his appointment as Director of the National Science Foundation. Are we to consider NSF a part of the Defense Establishment? Many of Dr. Long's colleagues in the scientific community, probably a large majority, share his views regarding the proposed ABM deployment, whether in the Sentinel or Safeguard configuration. I have my own serious doubts as to the wisdom of deploying the present Safeguard system. Furthermore, this is a vital policy issue upon which scientists have a real duty to study and comment. The technological questions involved in the present ABM debate are truly staggering, and we find many of the foremost experts in the field opposing deployment because of their considered judgment that "it will not work" in its present form. The administration, rather than penalizing such forthright scientific judgments, should encourage their presentation for careful consideration by the Executive and Congress. To involve selection of the Director of the Nation's basic research in the ABM question is absurd.

Since President Nixon's inauguration I have been pleased with the competent and businesslike job Dr. DuBridge has done in his position as science adviser. I am convinced that he is personally endeavoring to assure the appointment of science and research administrators solely on the basis of competence and ability. This was to a large extent reflected in the original decision to appoint Dr. Long as Director of the National Science Foundation. The fact that Dr. Long is a Democrat emphasized the non-partisan character of the Science Foundation and the willingness of outstanding scientists from all political persuasions to offer the administration their services in the interest of the Nation. The unhappy events of the past few days cast serious doubt on the ability of the administration to make important decisions in public policy for science which can attract the support of the Nation's scientists and other citizens of our country.

It is self evident that recruiting a Director for the National Science Foundation of the desired competence and ability and who will have the confidence of the scientific community, will now be extremely difficult, if not impossible. I hope this has only been a gross misunderstanding and that the administration does not seriously propose to make support of the ABM a prerequisite for public service. The Nixon administration still has an opportunity and a responsibility to rectify what I believe is a very serious error in Executive judgment, and I hope it will take immediate action to correct this error.

TRAGIC DESTRUCTION OF RECONNAISSANCE AIRCRAFT OFF NORTH KOREA

(Mr. MARSH asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. MARSH. Mr. Speaker, the recent tragic and unwarranted destruction of our reconnaissance aircraft off North

Korea is continued evidence that North Korea is a worsening trouble spot. It appears to be a part of a plan to gradually intensify the level of military activity by the North Koreans.

Although South Vietnam has had the spotlight in that part of the world, there is growing evidence every day that indicates we cannot ignore a situation that is growing more serious in Korea.

The seizure of the *Pueblo* and the destruction of the Navy EC121 aircraft are serious international incidents that receive worldwide attention. Not as well known is that for nearly 2 years, there has been a determined attempt to try and expand the war effort in South Korea by North Korean infiltrators. The purpose of this may be to start a guerrilla warfare effort similar to the type that we find now confronting us in South Vietnam.

American forces in South Korea are required to be in a continued state of readiness and the efforts to infiltrate the southern portion of Korea are reaching the stage where they cannot be dismissed as random and isolated incidents.

It is becoming increasingly clear that North Korea is developing a highly trained guerrilla force and resorting to all types of clandestine efforts to infiltrate these guerrilla forces to harass not only American units but to intimidate South Korean citizens and conduct raids and ambushes on South Korean military forces.

A part of this effort may be to cause the withdrawal from South Vietnam of South Korean forces presently employed there, or it may be a broader plan to try and get a full-scale guerrilla war effort underway similar to the type of struggle that is raging throughout Southeast Asia. In all events, the most recent destruction of our reconnaissance aircraft points out that we cannot take anything for granted, nor can we assume that simply because an aircraft or vessel like the *Pueblo* is operating well within international skies or waters it is safe from attack.

It seems certain that with the attitude of North Korea, we must furnish adequate protection of aircraft and vessels that are not capable of defending themselves, whereby attacks such as this can be repulsed, in order to protect the lives of American service personnel as well as to insure successful accomplishment of these vital intelligence missions.

PUBLIC OPINION STRENGTHENS CONSERVATION EFFORTS

(Mr. FEIGHAN asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, our environment is deteriorating before our eyes. We are exhausting the finite amounts of clean air, pure water, and available land at a wastefully astonishing rate. We and our children will pay a prohibitive price for this activity. Only recently have we begun to realize the menaces we face.

For years conservation organizations

have been voices in a void, seeking to warn us. One among them is the National Wildlife Federation, which performs marvelous work on behalf of all the people in preserving our environment and its inhabitants.

They recently retained a major polling organization to query a cross section of Americans on a variety of environmental issues. Findings are revealing, indeed, as we see a major upswing in public attitudes towards pollution of all kinds, wildlife preservation, pesticides and preservation of open green spaces.

We must become more aware of what is facing us. We must take stronger action against those who pollute our air and water—against thermal, noise, and oil pollution—against those who ruin the land and take away from the quality of our lives. The National Wildlife Federation has performed another public service by having this survey made, and I insert highlights here in the Record for the enlightenment of other Members of this body:

THE U.S. PUBLIC CONSIDERS ITS ENVIRONMENT

INTRODUCTION

Objectives of the study

The overall objective of the study was to provide information about the public's attitudes toward our natural surroundings. Specific objectives included:

1. Finding out to what extent the public is concerned about the degradation of our environment;
2. Investigating preferences for urban versus suburban or rural living;
3. Learning what is considered the most pressing problem with regard to our natural surroundings and what the public thinks should be done about the problems;
4. Determining whether or not the public favors setting aside more public land for conservation purposes.

Design of the research

The objectives of the study were carried out by means of a personal interview survey conducted with a national sample of 1503 adults, 21 years of age and older. The interviewing took place during the last ten days in January, 1969. The following questions were asked:

1. You may have heard or read claims that our natural surroundings are being spoiled by air pollution, water pollution, soil erosion, destruction of wildlife and so forth. How concerned are you about this—deeply concerned, somewhat concerned, or not very concerned?
2. How much would you be willing to pay each year in additional taxes earmarked to improve our natural surroundings—a small amount such as \$10.00 or less, a moderate amount such as \$50.00, or a large amount such as \$100.00 or more?
3. It has been said that it will, at some time, be necessary to limit the human population (number of people) if our present living standards are to be maintained. Do you think this will be necessary or not?
4. Which of these kinds of places would you find most pleasant as a place to live?

Respondents were shown a card which read as follows: Mountains, Seashore, Rural area, Small city, Suburbs, Large City, Somewhere else?

5. In this country, which one of these do you think is the most pressing problem connected with our natural surroundings?

Respondents were shown a card which read as follows: Air pollution, Water Pollution, Soil erosion, Wildlife preservation (birds and animals), Preservation of open green spaces, Pesticides (chemicals used to kill insects).



United States
of America

Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 91st CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

Vol. 115

WASHINGTON, THURSDAY, APRIL 17, 1969

No. 61

Senate

The Senate was not in session today. Its next meeting will be held on Friday, April 18, 1969, at 12 o'clock meridian.

House of Representatives

THURSDAY, APRIL 17, 1969

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

Rev. Edward G. Latch, D.D., offered the following prayer:

I must work the works of Him that sent Me, while it is day.—John 9:4.

God of our fathers and our God, cleanse the thoughts of our hearts by the inspiration of Thy Holy Spirit that we may truly love Thee and worthily serve Thee this day.

May our hearts be with Thee as we seek solutions to the grave and global problems that confront us and our Nation.

In this dear land of our birth, help us to close ranks in a greater unity of spirit as principalities and powers without seek to destroy our heritage of freedom, with liberty and justice for all.

Make us great enough in spirit that we may be equal to every experience, ready for every responsibility, and adequate for every activity.

In the name of the Master Workman, we pray. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

NK WE HAVE RUN OUT OF "OTHER CHEEKS"

(Mr. SIKES asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, North Korea, which was allowed to wallow in propaganda and self-glorification over the *Pueblo* incident, now has committed another act of war against the United States. There should be retaliation in kind. It should be immediate, and sufficiently drastic that there will be no further problems of this nature with North Korea. It is incomprehensible that we not be aroused when Americans are

killed or tortured at will by irresponsible powers and U.S. planes and ships destroyed or captured. We took no action on the *Pueblo* except to prostrate ourselves before the world, and this undoubtedly has led to the assumption that similar acts can be committed at will. I would hope we have not reached this point. America must stand for something. We cannot continue to turn the other cheek. We have run out of cheeks to turn.

I trust that our country has reached the end of the line in patient acceptance of acts of warfare against us by Communist nations. The Red Chinese have charged that we do not have the courage to stand by our principles. Our enemies must not be permitted to be secure in the knowledge that hostile acts can be committed without forceful action from the United States to protect our own interests.

I have listened as one commentator after another has urged on the networks that there be no retribution against North Korea. No consideration was shown to the fact that Americans were shot down in cold blood, that the flag has again been fired upon, that these are acts of war pure and simple. To me it is sickening that there are those who publicly will urge this country to do nothing to protect its own interests. Surely they realize such a course is a deadend street. America must stand up for its flag, its people, its property. When this involves a retaliatory strike against the offenders, we must get on with it. That is now the case. Otherwise, we shall soon find ourselves stripped of pride at home and leadership in world affairs.

I am introducing a resolution which states in substance that it is the sense of Congress that armed protection should be provided for all manned U.S. intelligence-gathering planes and ships in danger areas. Neither the *Pueblo* nor the missing aircraft were afforded this pro-

tection, nor was an effort made to send help. Either condition is intolerable. Congress should express itself at least to this degree in an effort to insure a greater interest in the protection of the lives of our servicemen who are assigned on dangerous missions.

LIBERALIZING THE CHILD CARE PROVISIONS OF OUR TAX LAWS

(Mr. KOCH asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. KOCH. Mr. Speaker, the provisions of the Internal Revenue Code relating to the deductibility of child-care expenses of working mothers require drastic change.

There are many women who want to work in order to supplement their family's income. In a period of inflation, many families desperately need such additional income. Yet our tax laws provide no deduction for child-care expenses to a family whose adjusted gross income exceeds \$6,000.

I am introducing a bill today that completely removes any family income limitation. If a businessman is entitled to deduct expenses for wining and dining a customer, surely any working mother should be able to deduct the expenses for the care of her children.

In addition, my bill would increase the maximum deduction allowed from \$600 to \$800 for one child and from \$900 to \$1,200 for two or more children. This is a reasonable increase considering that the cost of living has risen 33 percent since 1954 when the original dollar limits were established.

I would venture to guess that any revenue loss resulting from my amendments would be offset by the revenue gain arising from additional income earned by working mothers. But more important, the tax amendments I propose would

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encourage women who want to work. Why should our tax laws continue to discourage them from seeking to better themselves and their family's living standards?

GOVERNOR MANDEL, OF MARYLAND, ADDRESSES INSTITUTE OF SCRAP IRON AND STEEL ON THE GROWING PROBLEM OF JUNKED AND ABANDONED CARS

(Mr. FRIEDEL asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend his remarks and include a speech by Governor Mandel.)

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, I attended a breakfast this morning and had the pleasure of hearing the great Governor of Maryland make a very enlightening speech about the problems of junked automobiles and what adverse effects they have on our cities and States.

Governor Mandel's address covers this subject much more thoroughly than I could and I am sure it will be of great interest to all of my colleagues as well as to the Governors of other States and city and local officials who are faced with the same problems. Therefore, I ask unanimous consent to include it at this point in the Record. Governor Mandel not only points out the problems, but offers some suggestions for solving them. The address follows:

REMARKS OF GOV. MARVIN MANDEL, BEFORE THE INSTITUTE OF SCRAP IRON AND STEEL, WASHINGTON, D.C., APRIL 17, 1969

No one single problem underlies the thousands of junked and abandoned cars on the streets of cities and on various plots of ground throughout the countryside.

Junked cars mean acres of land kept from more productive use. Junked cars mean an increasing problem in solid waste disposal. Junked cars mean that something has changed in the relationship between demand and supply for scrap. It means technological advances in the steel industry which no longer utilize number two scrap bundles to the same extent as before.

But above all else, it means a lack of research in the preparation of scrap to meet the new needs of the steel industry. For the citizens of our communities—in Maryland and in every other State across the Nation—junked cars mean an inefficient use of resources in the steel industry which result in higher priced and less consumer oriented products. They mean higher repair cost and less service.

During the last year we have tried to solve this growing problem in Maryland. This year, the bill introduced in the 1968 General Assembly and vetoed by my predecessor, Vice President Spiro T. Agnew, because a provision requiring scrap yards to accept every car brought to them might be unconstitutional, was amended to establish a program designed to curb the proliferation of junked and abandoned cars.

The program has two basic points:

- (1) A \$10 bounty would be paid to scrap processors for every car scrapped thereby raising the price of junked cars and encouraging their removal to the scrap processor.
- (2) A \$5 fine would be imposed on junk dealers who kept junked cars more than six months.

The responsibility assumed by State government in Maryland then is one of adding velocity to the scrap cycle. For some time the problems created by the supply of tech-

nologically unacceptable scrap and a changing demand by the steel industry for scrap have been partially solved by the private sector. The additional problem of aesthetics is being worked on at the Federal level.

But despite all these efforts—and despite the partially successful results across the Nation—

Cars continue to be abandoned at an increasing rate;

A huge inventory of stripped cars are awaiting processing across the country;

Shredding operations for reducing abandoned cars to their most technologically usable form are available in certain geographical areas only and at a high cost;

Air pollution problems present a considerable social cost to all persons.

But these dismal facts measure only some of the problems. They fail to reveal the fact that no workable method of supplying technologically useful scrap from the thousands of abandoned cars across the country has been achieved to meet the needs of the steel industry for scrap. It is not simply scrap that junked cars represent. They also are a untutilized resource until they can be adequately converted into a valuable resource. And this is especially serious because of the great numbers of autos in Maryland and in every State across the Nation.

By 1970 it is estimated that 86 million cars will be in use in the United States;

By 1970 at least 10.5 million cars will be produced in the United States;

By 1970 car scrappage is estimated at 8.5 million cars.

Clearly then, the main focus must be on providing for the effective disposal of junked and abandoned cars throughout the country. This task has not yet begun nationwide.

But Maryland has begun this task. And, of course, it costs money. It costs the citizens of Maryland. But action is required to alleviate the problem of junked cars. The private sector is unable to take on the burden.

Once a car is abandoned, finding the owner is difficult and not always possible. But even if the owner is found, how does a person dispose of a car?

The maximum cost of the program might be figured by multiplying the number of junked and abandoned cars in Maryland (approximately 180,000) by \$10.

If all these cars were scrapped the total cost would be \$1,800,000. If cars are scrapped at the estimated rate of 23,000 per year from now on the program would cost about \$230,000 a year.

Maryland intends to raise the money by imposing a \$1 "burial tax" on title registrations. The burden on the car buyer is presently \$1 in Maryland. Each year 800,000 cars are titled in the State. By 1970 when the bounty becomes effective, Maryland will already have been collecting the burial tax for a year. No problems are seen in paying for the program under this time schedule.

The Maryland program is not a panacea, but these efforts demonstrate that the problem of junked and abandoned cars can be attacked through the cooperation of Federal, State and local governments and the efforts of the private sector.

But new efforts are also needed—efforts towards the solution of the problems of air pollution from burning junked cars before scrapping them, of decreasing the high cost and time consuming efforts of stripping a car before scrapping, of reviewing current laws and titling requirements to aid vehicle collection and disposal.

We must somehow match the oversupply of scrap from all these junked cars with the needs of the steel industry. The role of the private sector in this area is either to lead or to complement the efforts of government. But there must be new industry concern. There must be more research initiated

through which the need of industries which are potential utilizers of scrap products communicate with suppliers of scrap.

It is essential for the success of the research program that industry demands be coupled with available supply.

Private corporations are, of course, responsible to their stockholders. Large-scale investment in research towards utilizing an inefficient resource will be costly and difficult. If the private sector is to play its full part in relation to the problem of junked cars therefore, it must have the support of Government to help make up for the increased costs.

And most important there must be full participation of both Government and the private sector in the development and implementation of any program. Government policies should be shaped by the active participation of the private sector. What government seeks is not just greater programs, but greater participation—through the utilization of the talent and experience of the private sector which can best determine how to use its own resources.

This is the approach we have aimed for in trying to solve the junked car problem in Maryland.

FREEDOM'S CHALLENGE

(Mr. ASPINALL asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. ASPINALL. Mr. Speaker, it is my pleasure to inform my colleagues that a young American citizen from the U.S. Virgin Islands, Miss Carol-Anne Roberts, is a winning contestant in the annual "Voice of Democracy Contest."

This contest is sponsored by the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States and its Ladies Auxiliary. This year the "Voice of Democracy Contest" had as its theme "Freedom's Challenge," and attracted the participation of over 400,000 students competing for five scholarships.

The significance of Miss Roberts being a winning contestant is in the fact that she hails from Christiansted, St. Croix, in the U.S. Virgin Islands, a territorial possession of the United States. Miss Roberts clearly demonstrates in her speech the attitude and loyalty of our island citizens.

Mr. Speaker, it is more refreshing to know that the majority of our young American citizens are not committed to the forces of unrest and violence so rife in our society today. Moreover, it is the expressions of responsible young Americans like Carol-Anne Roberts, which display an intelligent understanding of "Freedom's Challenge," that reward our confidence in the young of our Nation and the future of its democratic form of government.

Mr. Speaker, it is with sincere pleasure that I ask unanimous consent to insert in the body of the Record the winning speech of Miss Carol-Anne Roberts on "Freedom's Challenge."

FREEDOM'S CHALLENGE

Freedom! A beautiful word! What do we think of when we hear this? What pictures flash through our minds as we are confronted with this word? Do we see a small group of ragged soldiers struggling against a larger and better equipped foe? Do we envision the signing of a great document, the Declaration of Independence? Does the vi-



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PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 91st CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

Vol. 115

WASHINGTON, WEDNESDAY, APRIL 16, 1969

No. 60

Senate

The Senate was not in session today. Its next meeting will be held on Friday, April 18, 1969, at 12 o'clock meridian.

House of Representatives

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 16, 1969

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.
The Chaplain, Rev. Edward G. Latch, D.D., offered the following prayer:

By grace you have been saved through faith, and this is not your own doing, it is the gift of God.—Ephesians 2: 8.

Our Father God, in whom we live and move and have our being, we humbly pray Thee so to guide and govern us by Thy spirit that in all the procedures of these hours we may never forget that Thou art with us. Send us out into this new day sustained by—

A faith that shines more bright and clear
When tempests rage without;
That when in danger knows no fear,
In darkness feels no doubt.

Into Thy keeping we commit our country and all who live and fight and die for her that freedom may continue to be gloriously alive in our world. Strengthen them in danger; comfort them in sorrow; keep them steadfast in the performance of duty and ever loyal to this Nation we love with all our hearts.

Lead us, our Father, in the paths of right; blindly we stumble when we walk alone, only with Thee do we journey safely on.

In the name of Him who is the way, we pray. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

PRESIDENT NIXON'S REVIEW OF THE 1970 BUDGET

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, for general information and reference purposes of Members who may be interested, I ask unanimous consent to insert in the extension section of today's RECORD the report summarizing the results of the review of the 1970 budget, released yesterday

day by the Executive Office of the President.

The document supplies a capsule synopsis of the proposed and projected changes in the budgets for fiscal years 1969 and 1970 submitted by President Johnson in January of this year.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

MAIL SERVICE FOR MAMIE DOUD EISENHOWER, WIDOW OF FORMER PRESIDENT DWIGHT DAVID EISENHOWER

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of the bill (H.R. 10158) to provide mail service for Mamie Doud Eisenhower, widow of former President Dwight David Eisenhower.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the bill, as follows:

H.R. 10158

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That all mail matter sent by post by Mamie Doud Eisenhower, the widow of former President Dwight David Eisenhower, under her written autograph signature or facsimile thereof, shall be conveyed within the United States, its possessions, and the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico free of postage during her natural life. All of her mail marked "Postage and Fees Paid" in the manner prescribed by the Postmaster General shall be accepted by the Post Office Department for transmission in the international mails. The postal revenues shall be reimbursed each fiscal year, out of the general funds of the Treasury, in an amount equivalent to the postage which otherwise would be payable on matter mailed pursuant to this Act.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

PERMISSION FOR COMMITTEE ON INTERSTATE AND FOREIGN COMMERCE TO SIT DURING GENERAL DEBATE TODAY

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce may sit during general debate today.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

ECONOMIC SANCTIONS TO CURB NORTH KOREAN AGGRESSION

(Mr. PUCINSKI asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the brazen and wanton murder of 31 American airmen over the Sea of Japan is another example of North Korean aggression against the United States.

I think we all ought to be reminded today that when Mr. Nixon accepted the nomination in Miami, in his acceptance speech, he said it was time for an administration that would react promptly and effectively against incidents like the *Pueblo*.

I hope Mr. Nixon will make good in that pledge.

I suggest there are several things that can be done short of military intervention. I am not sure that we want to engage in military intervention in North Korea at this time any more than we wanted to when the *Pueblo* incident occurred.

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CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — HOUSE

April 16, 1969

Of course, when we see today in retrospect the tortures committed upon the American sailors of the *Pueblo*, and then this wanton shooting down of an aircraft yesterday, the least this country can do right now is to demand economic sanctions and an economic quarantine of North Korea.

Several of our allies are today doing business with North Korea. They include Japan, Hong Kong, England, and others. The least these allies can do is stand behind the United States in quarantining this aggressor before this whole situation gets out of hand.

Mr. Speaker, the time has come when Secretary Rogers ought to demand that America's allies join us in an economic quarantine of North Korea. If they are not willing to join us, we should come to the realization that they are only fair weather friends and cannot be counted on when we need their help.

NK ACTION DEMANDED ON NORTH KOREAN INCIDENTS

(Mr. DICKINSON asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. DICKINSON. Mr. Speaker, last fall in his quest for the Presidency, Mr. Nixon said, in referring to the *Pueblo*:

When respect for the United States of America falls so low that a fourth-rate military power like North Korea will seize an American naval vessel on the high seas, it is time for new leadership. I pledge to you the American flag is not going to be a doormat for anybody at home or abroad.

I applauded his statement then because I believed it came from the man, not just a candidate for public office.

Now once again we are the innocent victims of armed piracy and aggression from North Korea. They have shot down an unarmed American plane 100 miles at sea, thus murdering 31 Americans on board.

Mr. Speaker, I know I speak on behalf of millions of Americans who voted for a change last November—not 4 more years of indecision, frustration, and fear—when I say we are waiting, Mr. President, for you to make your promise good.

NK YESTERDAY THE "PUEBLO"—TODAY THE "WILLY VICTOR"—WHAT TOMORROW?

(Mr. FREY asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. FREY. Mr. Speaker, I spent most of my active naval service flying in the same type of reconnaissance aircraft which, according to the latest Defense Department statement at 11 a.m. this morning, was apparently shot down by North Korean aircraft far outside the claimed territorial air space of this nation. We called the aircraft BT's—big targets. They are unarmed, cruise at only 175 knots, and provide an easy target for an enemy.

Our wing was engaged in part to fly a barrier from Midway to the Aleutians and back. Although we only had 19 men

aboard, we never felt unprotected or alone. We knew that 180 million fellow Americans were behind us. We knew that in fulfilling our obligation to our country, America would in turn fulfill its obligation to us.

The Defense Department statement points out that this flight was one of 190 similar flights made to date, all considered lawful use of international air space. Whereas all of the flights operated at least 40 nautical miles from the North Korean coast, this plane was operating at least 50 nautical miles from the North Korean coast. Despite a huge search and rescue mission, there are no reports of survivors.

I do not presume to know what course we should now follow. It is obvious we cannot afford to become engaged in another Asian land war. But it is equally obvious that we have not fulfilled our obligations to 30 Navy men and one marine who were aboard this vessel, and all the others in the service of their country. In some way and by some method North Korea must pay the price. Yesterday the *Pueblo*—today the *Willy Victor*—what tomorrow?

CALL OF THE HOUSE

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Speaker, I make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Illinois (Mr. SPRINGER) makes the point of order that a quorum is not present, and evidently a quorum is not present.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I move a call of the House.

A call of the House was ordered.

[Roll No. 36]

The Clerk called the roll, and the following Members failed to answer to their names:

Abbutt	Frelinghuysen	O'Konski
Ashbrook	Fuqua	O'Neal, Ga.
Ashley	Gallagher	Ottlinger
Barrett	Garmatz	Patman
Bates	Gray	Pepper
Bell, Calif.	Griffiths	Pike
Boland	Cross	Powell
Brock	Ealpern	Furcel
Carey	Hansen, Wash.	Rosen, N.Y.
Celler	Hébert	Rosenthal
Chappell	Jacobs	Scheuer
Clark	Jones, Tenn.	Symington
Clay	Kee	Teague, Tex.
Cunningham	Likens	Yatron
Davis, Ga.	Madden	
Dawson	May	
Dwyer	Morton	
Ford	Moss	
William D.	Murphy, N.Y.	

The SPEAKER. On this rollcall 381 Members have answered to their names, a quorum.

By unanimous consent, further proceedings under the call were dispensed with.

CORRECTION OF ROLLCALL

Mr. SMITH of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, on rollcall No. 30, on March 26, a quorum call, I am recorded as absent. I was present and answered to my name. I ask unanimous consent that the permanent Record and Journal be corrected accordingly.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Iowa? There was no objection.

WATER QUALITY IMPROVEMENT ACT OF 1969

Mr. FALLON. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the further consideration of the bill (H.R. 4148) to amend the Federal Water Pollution Control Act, as amended, and for other purposes.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from Maryland.

The motion was agreed to.

IN THE COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE

Accordingly the House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the further consideration of the bill H.R. 4148, with Mr. SMITH of Iowa in the chair.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The CHAIRMAN. When the Committee rose on yesterday the Clerk had read through section 1, ending on page 38, line 17, of the committee substitute amendment.

If there are no amendments to this section, the Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

SEC. 2. Existing sections 17 and 18 of the Federal Water Pollution Control Act, as amended, are hereby repealed. Section 19 of the Federal Water Pollution Control Act, as amended, is redesignated as section 24. After section 16 of the Federal Water Pollution Control Act, as amended, there is hereby inserted the following new sections:

"CONTROL OF POLLUTION BY OIL AND OTHER MATTER

"Sec. 17. (a) For the purpose of this section, the term—

"(1) 'oil' means oil of any kind or in any form, including, but not limited to, petroleum, fuel oil, sludge, and oil refuse, but does not include oil mixed with dredged spoil;

"(2) 'matter' means any substance of any description or origin, other than oil, dredged spoil, and human body wastes and the wastes from toilets and other receptacles intended to receive or retain human body wastes, which, when discharged into the navigable waters of the United States or the waters of the contiguous zone in substantial quantities, presents, in the judgment of the Secretary, an imminent and substantial hazard to public health or welfare, including fish, shellfish, and wildlife, and shorelines and beaches, but such term does not include by-product material, source material, and special nuclear material as defined in the Atomic Energy Act of 1954 (42 U.S.C. 2013).

"(3) 'discharge' means any spilling, leaking, pumping, pouring, emitting, emptying, or dumping;

"(4) 'remove or removal' refers to the taking of reasonable and appropriate measures to mitigate the potential damage of the discharge of oil or matter to the public health or welfare, including, but not limited to, fish, shellfish, wildlife, shorelines, and beaches.

"(5) 'vessel' means every description of watercraft or other artificial contrivance used, or capable of being used, as a means of transportation on water;

"(6) 'public vessel' means a vessel owned or bareboat chartered and operated by the United States, or by a State or political subdivision thereof, or by a foreign nation or political subdivision thereof, except where such vessel is engaged in commercial activities;

"(7) 'United States' means the States, the District of Columbia, the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, the Canal Zone, Guam, Amer-

April 15, 1969

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — HOUSE

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nancial aid to areas plagued by discrimination

Nobody has stepped forward to claim the laurels of Mr. Civil Rights for the Nixon Administration, partly perhaps because Attorney General John N. Mitchell has indicated he wants to make the line between Justice and, say, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, firmer rather than fuzzier where they have overlapping jurisdiction such as in school desegregation.

The total effect each department going its own way, is not one of neutrality toward civil rights. The Pentagon's failure to submit its contracting policy to scrutiny elsewhere in Government amounts to a decision to avoid the kind of review that almost certainly would build pressures for a tough Defense Department policy.

Besides making it easier to temporize, such lack of necessary embarrassment. The Pentagon made its textile announcement within hours of President Nixon's promise to NAACP Executive Secretary Roy N. Wilkins to investigate complaints on the subject—a bureaucratic goof that no cynic could have stage-managed.

Leonard, 39-year-old former Wisconsin state legislator, has overcome an initial setback about his membership in a segregated Milwaukee club to earn a reputation among many civil rights workers for a sincere desire to enforce Federal law vigorously.

He stepped in quickly to argue in the Supreme Court on the side of Negroes who tried to desegregate a recreation area near Little Rock, Ark. When he filed a friend-of-the-court brief in a Chicago "blockbusting" case, lawyers for Negroes there credited him with a creative legal argument and they were grateful to have the prestige of the United States Government thrown in as well.

Leonard is regarded by some subordinates as easily educated in the intricacies of civil rights enforcement, but he is being watched to see whether he can capture the appropriations needed to unfreeze the current travel restrictions that keep many bias fighters chairborne.

At HEW, Secretary Robert H. Finch weathered an initial period of unpreparedness and uncertainty to begin a pattern of toughness over school desegregation-Federal aid guidelines.

But Finch's appointment of Robert C. Mardian, who has urged a quiet cutback in Federal fund cutoffs, as general counsel, counterbalanced his naming of Leon A. Panetta, a liberal, to do the actual enforcing, has created a new mix of emotions and expectations. So have Finch's own conflicting public statements on civil rights issues.

No civil rights legislative program has emerged, but it will be surprising if the White House backs a Johnson Administration proposal for enforcement powers for the Employment Commission, since Dirksen has upbraided former chairman Clifford A. Alexander Jr. for his use of its existing powers.

The Administration's failure to coordinate with Dirksen plus an ill-timed White House statement the next day saying Alexander would be replaced as chairman combined for the maximum Administration embarrassment. Knowing that Alexander, a Democrat, could become difficult to handle politically, the Administration nonetheless managed to let Alexander resign as chairman (while remaining on the commission) in a righteous huff rather than quietly.

The signs are scant that segregationist Sen. Strom Thurmond (R-S.C.) wields great influence on civil rights matters. But signs are plentiful that the Nixon Administration will continue for some time to move in several directions at once on civil rights.

(Mr. BRADEMAS asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this

point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

[Mr. BRADEMAS' remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.]

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COMMUNIST AIR AGGRESSION

(Mr. RARICK asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, the news that the Communist regime of North Korea has shot down a U.S. reconnaissance plane resulting in the apparent murder of 31 U.S. boys has shocked the conscience of the peace-seeking world.

Compare, for example, the barbaric act of the Government of North Korea toward our U.S. aircraft with the reports of Soviet bombers regularly flying along the U.S. coast. Compare also this action with the piracy at high seas in the capture of the U.S.S. *Pueblo* and the subsequent imprisonment and torture of the American crew.

How can any informed American believe that we can negotiate peace from a position of weakness through supposed assistance from the Soviet Union, when it is the Soviets and their arms escalation and military equipment that underwrites these atrocities?

The American people must awaken our leaders that there can be no peace until we go after the peace—not by pacifist verbiage—but by a policy of retaliation and announced efforts that we are going to win our goals—including an announced all-out effort for peace through victory and the unequivocal backing of our boys wherever they serve.

I include several news articles following my remarks:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, Apr. 15, 1969]

NORTH KOREA SAYS U.S. PLANE DOWNED—NAVY SPY CRAFT WITH 31 MISSING IN SEA OF JAPAN—COMBAT PATROL COVER PROVIDED FOR AIR SEARCH

TOKYO.—North Korea, which captured the U.S. intelligence ship *Pueblo*, reported today its air force shot down a large American reconnaissance plane.

In Washington, the Defense Department said a Navy reconnaissance plane with 31 aboard was missing in the Sea of Japan.

North Korea's official Central News Agency said "a large-sized modernly equipped reconnaissance plane" intruded deep into North Korean air space and was shot down. The time given for the downing of the plane was 1:50 p.m. or 11:50 p.m. EST yesterday.

The broadcast gave no information on the fate of those aboard.

It said only that the North Korean air force shot the plane down at a high altitude "by showering fire of revenge upon it."

ROUTINE RECONNAISSANCE

In Washington, the Defense Department said the Navy EC121 plane, based at Atsugi, Japan, was flying "a routine reconnaissance

track" which kept it at least 50 nautical miles from the North Korean coastline.

The Pentagon did not immediately confirm that the North Koreans shot down the huge electronics-packed aircraft but said only that a broad search was launched for the plane and its crew of 30 Navy men and one Marine.

At the Capitol, however, Vice Adm. J. B. Colwell, deputy chief of naval operations, talked as though hostile action was involved.

He called the incident "a clear case of international piracy and a breach of international law." He talked briefly with newsmen before going into a closed session of the House Armed Services Committee. He declined to give further details in public.

PRESIDENT AWAKENED

At the White House, press secretary Ronald L. Ziegler said President Nixon was awakened "early this morning" to be told about the missing plane.

Ziegler declined to say just when Nixon was awakened, but said the information was relayed to the President by telephone from Dr. Henry A. Kissinger, his special assistant for national security affairs.

A Defense Department spokesman said the aircraft commander was under orders to approach no closer than 50 miles to the coast of North Korea.

The EC121 carried two 20-man life-rafts.

The Defense Department said combat patrol cover was being provided for two search planes, an HC130 Hercules and a KC135 tanker.

The destroyers Tucker and Dale, which have been based at Sasebo, Japan, were ordered to head toward the search area.

The EC121 is heavily-loaded with electronic gear, as was the U.S. intelligence ship *Pueblo*, which was captured off the North Korean coast on Jan. 23, 1968. The U.S. claimed at the time the ship was in international waters about 25 miles off the North Korean coast.

Search operations today apparently were centered within 200 miles of where the *Pueblo* and its 83 crewmen were captured. The crew was released late last year. The Pentagon said the air search today is centered about 95 miles southeast of Chongjin, North Korea.

The U.S. Embassy in Moscow today asked Soviet assistance in searching for survivors of the plane. A spokesman said the embassy had informed the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the plane's disappearance and sought help from any Russian ships that might be in the area. Japanese fishing boats already have joined the search.

At the Pentagon, Daniel Z. Henkin, the Defense Department's chief spokesman, dodged all questions on what may have happened but said "the aircraft was in communication with its base during its mission."

"We have no information at this time which confirms the sighting of any survivors," Henkin said.

Pentagon records indicated this would be the first U.S.-North Korean air clash in 10 years.

In June 1959 a Navy P4 patrol plane was attacked by a MIG jet in the Sea of Japan about 85 miles east of Wonsan, North Korea. A tail gunner was seriously wounded in that incident but the damaged plane returned safely to a base in Japan.

The missing airplane is a converted Lockheed Super Constellation. It has a big hump in the top of the fuselage to carry radar and other monitoring devices.

"It is a large-crew airplane," the spokesman said, confirming that 31 men would not be an unusual number to be aboard. The monitoring equipment requires a number of operators.

The North Korean agency said the "U.S. imperialist aggressor army which has been rapidly intensifying the war provocation maneuvers against (North Korea) of late perpetrated on the morning of the 15th the

grave provocation of infiltrating deep into the territorial air of the republic a large size modernly equipped reconnaissance plane to conduct reconnaissance, while perpetrating grave provocations along the military demarcation line."

It said the North Korean air force "instantly spotted" the plane and "scored the brilliant battle success" of shooting it down.

"The U.S. imperialist aggressors must bear in mind that the stern warning of the Korean People's Army is not empty talk and the Korean People's Army counters any provocation of the U.S. imperialist aggressors instantly with a hundred-fold, thousand-fold retaliatory blow," the broadcast said.

About the time of the announcement in Washington, the U.S. Navy in Saigon abruptly cancelled an awards ceremony to-morrow aboard the aircraft carrier Ranger off Vietnam.

A Navy Spokesman in Saigon said he did not know if the cancellation was directly connected with the plane incident.

South Vietnam's defense minister and other officials had been scheduled to go aboard the Ranger to present medals to about 50 U.S. Navy men.

[From the Baton Rouge (La.) State-Times, Apr. 8, 1969]

SOVIET BOMBERS ARE FLYING REGULARLY TO WITHIN MILES OF U.S. COAST

(By Bob Horton)

WASHINGTON.—Soviet bomber flights to the fringe of North America have become so routine in recent months that U.S. fighters aren't always sent to intercept them, according to Pentagon sources.

Over the last 15 months, these sources say, there have been about three dozen incidents of Soviet planes flying near continental North America, usually Alaska or Canada.

However, the Soviets have been careful to turn back before actually flying over U.S. or Canadian territory, the sources said.

While continental defense officials occasionally may decide not to scramble interceptors, the Soviet bombers are always monitored on radar from the time they get within a few hundred miles of the North American coastline until they leave.

Only two or three of the Soviet missions have been disclosed officially by the Pentagon, which indicates the low key attitude the U.S. government is taking.

The most recent Soviet flight, sources report, occurred April 1 when eight to 10 TU16 Badgers came within 65 miles of Northwest Alaska.

The Alaskan Air Command scrambled F102 interceptors, but no nose-to-nose confrontation was necessary.

The Badger is a twin turbo jet aircraft roughly comparable to the old American B47 and capable of speeds up to 580 mph.

Seven other Soviet flights near U.S. territory this year are recorded on a list now stamped secret in the Pentagon.

In addition, there were more than 25 other similar incidents in 1968 not only off Alaska but near Newfoundland, Labrador, Iceland, and around the Aleutian Island chain in the Pacific.

GROUP OF SEVEN

Usually the Soviet planes show up in groups of two or three, but on one mission this past January, seven TU95 Bear reconnaissance bombers came within 30 nautical miles of Northwest Alaska. The Bear is a 500 mph turbo prop capable of flying 7,800 miles without refueling.

Six to eight Bears were intercepted by U.S. fighters last summer, again off Northwestern Alaska, in another major flight which went unpublicized.

Pentagon sources say the Soviets have been careful to halt their approaches within 30 to 150 miles of North American territory during the 15-month period.

In 1963 the United States protested strongly to the Soviet Union that two reconnaissance bombers had flown 30 miles inland across the southwestern tip of Alaska. The Soviets denied any incursion.

Pentagon sources are frank to admit the United States has no real basis for complaint so long as the Soviet planes remain outside NATO territory.

Furthermore, the United States could hardly protest that the flights are provocative. Strategic Air Command training missions send nuclear-capable B52s quite regularly into Arctic regions near Soviet territory.

PROBABLE REASONS

Sources believe the Soviets have three reasons for conducting what appears to be a regular program of flights toward the United States:

They want to keep a constant check on how long it takes U.S. radar to detect incoming planes and scramble fighters to intercept them.

The flights provide Soviet air crews with training made highly realistic when U.S. fighters meet them.

The Soviets collect various intelligence information from the missions. Even without flying over U.S. territory, they can take long range photographs, test radar detection systems and maintain data on American radio frequencies.

The decision whether to send U.S. jets to meet Soviet planes entering the air defense zone usually depends on the speed and angle of approach of the incoming flight.

Interceptors are designed mainly to assure the Soviets that their presence has been detected.

[From U.S. News & World Report, Mar. 24, 1969]

New types of Soviet weapons are showing up in the Vietnam war. U.S. Marines have captured Soviet D-74 field guns that can fire 55-pound high-explosive shells more than 13 miles and penetrate 7 inches of armor plate. The Marines also have sighted the first self-propelled guns known to be used by the enemy. They are believed to be the Russian-made JSU-122 assault guns.

[From Human Events, Apr. 19, 1969]

MILITARY REPOSITIONING AROUND GLOBE—BEHIND THE SOVIETS' "FORWARD STRATEGY"

(By Paul Scott)

The dramatic movement of powerful Soviet naval units from the Arctic to the Pacific Ocean is an integral part of the Kremlin's strategy of repositioning its military forces in strategic areas of the world.

Although U.S. intelligence authorities are split over the immediate impact on the West of this Russian naval build-up in the Pacific, the majority agree the transfer of ships gives the Kremlin a powerful new military lever to influence future events on the Korean peninsula, in Asia, and other areas of the world.

Strikingly illustrative of this expanding "forward strategy" are the following Soviet military movements during the past year:

(1) the positioning of 80,000 Russian troops in Czechoslovakia near the West German border; (2) movement of 20,000 additional troops into East Germany and Poland; (3) shifting a large number of Russian ships to the Mediterranean; and (4) basing of Soviet long-range bombers in the United Arab Republic; (5) increasing of military supplies to Arab nations; (6) supplying of arms to Nigeria to internationalize the war there; (7) increasing the flow of arms to North Viet Nam; and (8) shifting of Arctic Ocean naval units to the Pacific.

Significantly, the transferring Soviet navy units have aboard an unusually large number of bilingual communication officers who

speak either Korean or Japanese in addition to their native tongue.

Presence of these officers, detected before the Soviet naval units left Murmansk, greatly puzzled American naval intelligence officers until the final destination of the Red naval units was uncovered by the British.

While Russian diplomats are dropping hints all over the world that the Soviet naval movement is designed to meet "the growing Chinese Communist border threat" in the Far East, U.S. intelligence authorities believe there is much more to the Soviet strategic power build-up in the Pacific.

For instance, South Korean intelligence officials have warned the U.S. that the naval transfer is part of Moscow's preparations to support a 1970 invasion of their country by the North Koreans.

This latter threat is considered so real that Speaker John McCormack (D-Mass.) recently arranged for a congressional delegation headed by House Majority Leader Carl Albert (D-Okla.) to fly to South Korea to indicate U.S. backing for that government. The lawmakers agreed to work for a step-up of American military aid as a move to deter the Communists.

According to the South Koreans, Kim Il Sung, tempestuous North Korean dictator, is merely waiting to strike until American forces become so mired down in Viet Nam that they cannot defend Korea.

As of today, the priorities of the Viet Nam war have left South Korea woefully unprepared to resist another invasion. More than 50,000 of South Korea's best troops have been drawn out of the line to fight in Viet Nam.

The 50,000 Americans who hold 18 miles of the 151-mile Korean front are ill-equipped to face North Korea's modern 400,000-man army and air force without additional air and ground support from other U.S. bases.

The frantic war preparations in North Korea, plus the unpreparedness in the south, could make Korea a future Pearl Harbor for American forces there if Moscow decides the time is ripe to have Soviet-trained Kim Il Sung open a second Asian front.

It is known here that Moscow's agents in Japan have instructions to ferment a new round of strikes and protests designed to force the present Japanese government to block use of U.S. bases there in any new Korean war. These protests will be centered around opposition to proposed renewal of U.S.-Japanese defense agreements.

These are the little-alred developments in the Far East that President Nixon is being urged by his intelligence advisers to consider in his assessment of the movement of Soviet naval units to the Pacific.

The blow-up of Sino-Soviet border clashes by Moscow is considered highly significant by Nixon's intelligence advisers, but they caution that far too little is known about the incidents to determine whether they were connected with the naval movement or are being used as a cover for more sinister Russian intentions.

One of the most interesting articles on current Soviet foreign policy and strategy being studied at the highest level of the Nixon Administration was written by Joseph Schiebel, director of the Russian area studies program and professor of history of Georgetown University.

Titled "Convergence or Confrontation?", the Schiebel article gives a bleak prospect of a less militant Russia, stating:

"A whole array of military and particularly naval developments and the imminent succession by the Soviet Union to strategic bases (especially those which would permit the Soviet Union almost total domination over the Near and Middle East) ... point to a preoccupation with techniques of empire by strategic control...."

"The emergence of the Soviet Union as a substantive provider of development aid (with strategic strings attached to much of

it), as a marketer of major competitive goods (oil, advanced aircraft, etc.) and as a factor in the international money market indicate a growing capacity in this medium of political control. . . .

Schleibel's forecast that the Kremlin's effort to undermine relations between West Germany and the U.S., the national liberation strategy, and the strategy of isolating the U.S. as a world power will dominate operational aspects of Soviet foreign policy in the foreseeable future.

"The Soviet leaders are not omnipotent supermen," he concludes. "They owe their successes to the fact that they were able to so organize and arrange their advances that there would be no enemies."

The article appears in the 1968-69 Winter Issue of the *Intercollegiate Review*.

[From the Washington Post, Apr. 11, 1969]
AMERICAN ERA OF UNEQUALLED MIGHT SEEN AT END

(By Alfred Friendly)

LONDON, April 10.—A 20-year period in which American policy alone largely shaped the pattern of international politics probably ended last year, a group of defense experts believes. The Soviet Union, they say, "must now be treated as a full equal in terms both of strategic power and of her ability to control conflict in the developing world."

The judgment is that of the annual survey of Britain's highly esteemed Institute for Strategic Studies, made public today.

The survey said that for various reasons 1968 marked "the end of the American desire and ability to be the universal and dominant power."

U.S.S.R. EQUALS UNITED STATES

At the same time, the Soviet Union, having equalled the United States in intercontinental ballistic missile strength, has increased and diversified its other military capabilities to the point where it can intervene more actively in local conflicts and wars distant from its borders—even as the United States can, and has done.

There was no clear evidence during the year, the survey declared, to indicate whether the increase in the power and diversity of Russian military capability meant that "an active intervention strategy was in the making" or whether it was merely to give the Soviet Union "the panoply of a superpower" and the same range of options the United States enjoys for prestige and bargaining.

But, the survey authors continued, support for the first interpretation came from the Soviet Union's proclamation of the so-called Brezhnev doctrine—the right of intervention in the "socialist commonwealth." That concept could mean intervention not just in an Eastern European country like Rumania or even Yugoslavia; "it could mean Syria or other left-wing Arab states; it could mean China," the survey said.

THREAT TO BLOC

Reviewing the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia, the survey said there was little evidence that developments within the country before August were seen as an immediate security threat to the Soviet Union or its system, but much evidence that they were regarded as threats to the ability of other nations in the Eastern Bloc "to contain their own internal changes."

The invasion served to delay U.S.-Soviet arms control discussions—although the United States was held back more by "a sense of propriety than a reduced appetite for detente,"—but it did not affect the discussions in principle, the report said. Moreover, the invasion did not change the fact that the NATO nations had no alternative to trying to continue to reach a detente with the Soviet Union.

But the major consequence of the invasion, the survey asserted, was in Eastern Europe itself, where the Soviet action fundamentally changed the status quo.

In terms favorable to Russia, it reestablished the credibility of its military power as the prime instrument of its control in Eastern Europe; it seems to have snuffed out the Czechoslovak reformist movement; it left a larger Soviet military presence deployed on NATO's doorstep, and it served warning on West Germany of the dangers of continuing its wooing of the Eastern Bloc.

On the debit side, the survey said, the invasion shattered the image of a mellowing Soviet Union; frightened NATO into some fresh vibrations; menaced the unity of the Communist movement outside the Eastern Bloc, and "prompted the United States to begin mending her relations with her European allies."

The survey's gloomiest forecasts were focussed on the Arab-Israeli conflict, where it found that "the materials from which a settlement" could be built are still inadequate.

Worse, it continued, the Palestine liberation movements have risen to such power that the largest, Al Fatah, now acts almost as a nation, but without a nation's formal structure. Thus, there is "a serious question whether any Arab regime could survive a settlement" in the face of the Fedayeen groups' opposition.

If the Arab governments delay in resolving their own relations, redefining their objectives and reasserting their own domestic authority, the survey warned, Israel's own considerations about "defense and deterrence" may lead it to invoking the nuclear option which she has almost certainly acquired."

SEXATION IN THE CLASSROOM

(Mr. RARICK asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, as parents across the Nation become more aware of the inherent dangers of sex education in the schools, opposition to it begins to stiffen and become more organized.

The material for sex education is spread and pushed by an outfit calling itself the Sex Education and Information Council of the United States—SIECUS.

Scores of school boards in the United States have cited a lack of opposition to the teaching of this explosive material on sex as justification of its introduction into the school curriculum.

However, the answer to this is obvious—parents have previously had very limited access to the sensational material produced by SIECUS. As they do become aware—and more are becoming aware everyday—opposition to this lurid material stiffens.

The March 1969, edition of the journal of the Sarasota, Fla., County Medical Society contains two interesting and timely articles on sex in the schools and an informative and enlightening article on this subject appeared in the April 12, 1969, edition of the Prince Georges Sentinel published in neighboring Prince Georges County, Md. Also, a letter to the editor of the County News of Prince Georges from a concerned parent should be of equal interest to my colleagues.

I present these to follow my remarks:

THE JET SEX

(By William Campbell Douglass, M.D.)

When I was growing up, there were two sexes—the male sex and the female sex. My medical school anatomy course confirmed this. But recently something new has evolved from our schools—the Jet Sex. This is the

generation of "sexually free" children, who are taught from *kindergarten* how to do it, how babies are made and how they are avoided. The Jet Sex is taught that the issue isn't morality, but fornication without fear. Religion is out of our schools, but cotton is rapidly becoming the biggest thing since the new math. The children are assaulted with detailed texts, "study guides," visual aids, clay for modeling the human phallus, and everything conceivable short of copulation rooms—and even this has been suggested. In one school, for instance, the teacher, (who can only be described as sick, sick, sick), herded her little charges into a darkened room and had them feel each other.

One film now in vogue for *Kindergarten* shows dogs copulating followed by a human couple in bed under sheets. A recorded voice explains: "Mummy and Daddy are doing the same thing the dogs do." Now really, isn't that a bit much—even for the Jet Sex?

I mentioned sex education in the schools to a friend and he immediately replied, "Well, it's about time!" The implication was that finally someone was *doing* something and we would at last "understand" and "be natural" with sex—thereby bringing on the millennium and a non-neurotic world. But aren't there some things that are better off *not* understood during the formative years? Perhaps I am antediluvian in my thinking (I have been accused of such) but what happens to beauty and art when everything is reduced to a mathematical certainty? Our 20th century explorers have already taken the moon out of poetry and song by informing us that it is a "forbidding and foreboding place." Must we no deromantisize sex with clinical discussions in mixed company in the classroom? As the brilliant Alan Stang, writing in *The Review of the News* of February 5, 1969, put it: "—observe that what is happening . . . isn't just that sex is being given the most repulsive treatment possible—which it is—but that man's greatest, private pleasure is being made commercial; being made a public spectacle enjoyed by a crowd."

Certainly there is nothing wrong with giving anatomical courses to senior high school students (which is being done by the medical profession here). Most of the kids at this age already understand the reproductive process and perhaps these courses in the mechanism of conception clear up points of confusion. But let's leave the little ones to their hopscotch and softball. Psychiatrist Melvin Anshell puts it bluntly: "It catapults the child into advance sexual information; it perverts the child—if you turn into an obstetrician at eight years of age, you have developed a fixation—I think it is creating more pervers than were ever created before."

This is a delicate subject. But it deserves our serious consideration for it is being taught to our children with increasing boldness and diminishing restraint. What goes on in the depths of the mind of a 6 year old boy when he is shown pictures or models of the adult male phallus? Has it occurred to the sexperts that they may be engendering a strong inferiority complex that could well carry through to adult life? Might the child "act out," as the psychiatrists say, this inferiority complex with promiscuity in a never ending attempt to prove his maleness, to prove his sexual equality with other males?

What of the 6 year old girl, who knows very well what *her* anatomy is, who is exposed to the adult male, or even the immature male, through pictures or models and is told that she will, in a few years, submit to having *that* put in *there*. In a class at the Carter Riverside school in Fort Worth, Texas, the girls were told, "If you don't want all this blood and pain on your wedding, you should" At this point, one little girl faints.

How stupid can educators get? I just showed you.

Everyone seems preoccupied with sex these days. That is nothing new. And, of course, the pronoun "everyone" may be little too all.

embracing. But when the students on an American college campus riot because the faculty refused to let them erect statues of men and women performing perverted sexual acts, one wonders what Freud, sex education and John Dewey hath wrought.

Sex education is the "in thing" in America's schools, starting at the kindergarten level. Without it, the promoters of "sexology" warn us, your child will be warped, inhibited and, heaven forbid, moralistic. One wonders how ten generations of Americans managed to build a great and stable nation without formal sex training. We even managed to procreate without liberal busybodies telling us how. At the turn of the century, sex was considered a private matter. Some parents discussed it with their children and some did not. Everyone seems to agree that there was less mental illness then than now. But now the sexperts tell us, "If the parents won't teach their children about sex, then we must."

Why?

They tried it in a big way in Sweden, and now that formerly placid and stable land is ridden with neurosis, suicides and venereal disease. One hundred and forty Swedish doctors signed a petition to the government which stated that Sweden's young people are obsessed with sex and, panting from one partner to another, some have as many as two hundred different sex partners!

Mary Calderone, M.D., high priestess of sex education (who has no psychiatric credentials), promotes premarital intercourse among the kids, tacitly endorses abortion and speaks oh so gently and permissively about homosexuality. And, it is interesting to note, Ortho Pharmaceutical Corporation promotes Calderone with fancy brochures to the nation's physicians. The brochures tell America's doctors to stop moralizing and get with it! After all, Ortho has a lot of birth control pills to sell and 14 year olds know how to swallow pills, don't they? To coin a phrase: There's gold in them thar pills.

Dr. Rhoda L. Lorand, a highly qualified child analyst, has very cogently described the self-appointed sex experts. She said: "I have found that talking to these new sex education zealots about the findings of child analysts over the past forty years, is like talking to an audience of turkeys about Thanksgiving. In order to avoid the realization that their programs belong on the chopping block, they pretend that the evidence proving them in error does not exist and hope that by ignoring it, it will disappear—a most commendable scientific attitude. Don't worry, it won't disappear and more and more people who are unafraid to think are beginning to have doubts about these programs and the caliber of the groups they are attracting."

Dr. Max Levin, psychiatrist and neurologist, reviewed in current Medical Digest a book that was edited by two of our nation's "sex experts," Doctors Isadore Rubin and Lester Kirkendall. The following excerpt from that review strikes at the heart of their twisted logic:

Rubin says, "The core of the ethical problem is not whether a boy or girl remains or does not remain a virgin, but whether sex is used exploitatively and self-centeredly, or in a meaningful and dignified way."

Kirkendall says, "When it comes to sex in a relationship, the girl has several pressing questions: If I have intercourse, will it make my relationship with the boy stronger? What will he think of me? Will I please him or will I lose his respect?"

All this sounds so reasonable that it has a seductive appeal. Pattenkofer (in the Family and the Sexual Revolution, ed. E. M. Schur, Indiana U. Press), tells us of the satisfaction it gave to a perplexed high school teacher. Like other high school (and college) teachers, she hadn't found it easy to

field the questions of her students in the area of premarital behavior.

Pattenkofer writes that he was "much concerned" when the teacher told him "that Kirkendall's ideas had been such a help to her." She said, "Now I have an answer: I just tell the girls and boys that they have to consider both sides of the question: Will sexual intercourse strengthen or weaken their relationship?"

This, mind you, was not a college teacher; it was a high school teacher. One can imagine the turmoil in the mind of a high school girl; in the afternoon, she heard from her teacher that the question has two sides, and now in the evening she is being propositioned by her boyfriend who assures her that intercourse will strengthen their relationship.

The criteria proposed by Rubin and Kirkendall are unsound, indeed naive, for they presuppose a power to foretell the future. A girl contemplating intercourse, says Kirkendall, must ask herself, "Will it make my relationship with the boy stronger?" Even if she possessed the wisdom of Solomon, she would be unable to foretell the answer. Rubin and Kirkendall don't tell us what the girl should do if her forecast of a strengthened relationship backfires. You can make a hit with youngsters if you tell them they're entirely on their own, but few are mature enough to assess the pros and cons of sex freedom.

Ortho Pharmaceutical echoes the sociological garbage from Rubin and Kirkendall in their news release to physicians dated November 13, 1968: "In counseling college students facing stresses arising from changing sexual attitudes and practices, the physician, rather than espousing a 'thou shalt not' philosophy, must help the student face the basic questions—Will this behavior hurt you or those you love? Will it be good for you? You see, Mary Jane, Ortho isn't like those other cold blooded corporations. Ortho has heart!"

The results obtained from sex education in the lower grades are exactly opposite from what the sexologists claim. We are sexually deprived and sick, they say, and the SIECUS crowd considers itself ordained to straighten us out. But Communists, you know, always claim to be doing the opposite of what they are actually trying to accomplish.

There I go blaming the Communists again. Your Editor has been accused of seeing a Communist under every bed and now I am seeing them in the beds as well.

What is the evidence?

SIECUS (Sex Information and Education Council of the United States) is the Big In in all matters sexual (and homosexual) these days. One of the founders and the treasurer of this smut ring is one Isadore Rubin. Rubin was identified on May 3, 1955 in sworn testimony before the House Committee on Un-American Activities as a member of the Communist Party. Rubin is also Editor of a dirty little magazine called Sexology. (How do these titles grab your libido: "My desire for Both Sexes," "An Incest-haunted Marriage," "Women Who Have Many Climaxes," and "Fifteen Ways to Get More Out of Sex") This pornographer's trash is now being revised so it can be used in our nation's schools.

Another smutologist of some renown is Reverend William Genne' who is a founder, board member and secretary of the SIECUS perversion plant. Genne' has been associated with numerous Communist fronts. Also, not surprisingly, he is a big wheel in the National Council of Churches.

Reverend Joseph J. Fletcher, Professor of Ethics (of all things) at Cambridge Episcopal Theological School, works closely with the "filthy pictures" crowd at SIECUS. He has been a member of 13 Communist fronts and Herbert Philbrick, former FBI undercover agent, testified: "Joe Fletcher worked with us on Communist Party projects and an enormous number of tasks."

The above is just a sampling . . . perhaps you are not convinced, so allow me to present some more evidence.

When General William F. Dean was released from a Communist prison camp, the Chinese psychologist who had been trying to brainwash him said: "General don't feel bad about leaving us . . . we will soon be with you. We are going to destroy the moral character of a generation of your young Americans, and when we have finished, you will have nothing with which to really defend yourselves against us."

Still not convinced? Consider this from reporter Jack Mabley writing in the Fort Worth Star Telegram:

"A town in Western Poland was the scene of a grotesque gathering in the late spring of 1954. Communist agents had gone through prisons throughout Russia and Poland, rounding up hundreds of sex criminals, perverts and prostitutes. All were transported to this Polish town."

Simultaneously the Communists took into the town scores of Red movie and still photographers and thousands of feet of film. The criminals were turned loose in the town, and for 10 days, there was an incredible orgy. The photographers recorded everything. These prints were taken to a port in Turkey. They were put on a ship which several weeks later put in at Mobile. There the pictures were unloaded. American intelligence agents, who later traced these pictures to their origin, were unable to follow their course from Mobile.

However, it is established that they fanned out through the United States, and were put into the hands of youngsters through pornography dealers. Today these pictures, and the literally millions of reproductions that were made from them, are poisoning the minds of countless young Americans. This was the aim of the Communist agents."

"The story sounds fantastic and yet I personally cannot question the source. Rational people just aren't ready to believe that the pornography racket is part of a Red plot to undermine American morals . . . Yet the evidence is too solid to be shrugged off."

So Isadore Rubin, a Communist, is promoting "sex education" in our schools. That doesn't make sex education and all the raunchy movies and plays a Communist plot, now does it? An official publication of the Italian Communist Party, called Journal Cinema, would disagree:

"The film and theater production of today are really typical bourgeois phenomena. The bourgeoisie have now reached the final state in their advance toward decadence and show up their inherent rottenness as they surrender all claims to standard bearers of responsibility. We are not in the least bit interested in stopping do (sic) this. Why place any obstacles in their path? We are interested in encouraging this type of play. We want to encourage this sort-of production. As a technical policy our aim is to defend an enterprise that is pornographic and entirely free of the restrictions of ordinary moral rules. We must be resolute in pursuing this course, even more so in plays being shown that attempt to condone homosexuality."

Where does the National Education Association, the cultivators of the minds of our children, and the American Medical Association, the organized voice of American medicine, stand in regard to this obscene invasion of our schools, this rape of innocent young minds? This may stretch your credulity, but they have taken their stand bravely and firmly with the smutologists of SIECUS!

Naturally, most of these bumble heads in the NCC, the NEA and the AMA who have aligned themselves with Ellis, ("Religion seriously sabotages mental health," "Religion is neurosis," etc.); Fletcher ("For me there is no religion at all"); Kirkendall ("A tremendous feeling of natural unity . . . is immoral"), and the rest of these sick, homo-